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DEFENCE OF THE CONDUCT AND PRINCIPLES

OF

THE VENERABLE AND CALUMNIATED

EDMUND BONNER,

BISHOP OF LONDON,

IN THE REIGNS OF

HENRY VIII., EDWARD VI., MARY, AND ELIZABETH;

IN WHICH IS CONSIDERED

THE BEST MODE OF AGAIN CHANGING THE
RELIGION OF THIS NATION.

BR
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1842

BY

A TRACTARIAN BRITISH CRITIC.

DEDICATED TO THE BISHOP OF LONDON.

Tendimus in Latium,
We are going to Rome.

Festina lente,
On, slow.

COLL. CHRISTI REGIS S.J.
MS. A. 1. 1. 1.
TORONTO

LONDON:

SEELEY AND BURNSIDE, 172, FLEET-STREET.

MDCCCXLII.

13,671

THE HISTORY OF

THE CITY OF DURHAM

FROM THE EARLIEST PERIODS TO THE PRESENT

BY

J. H. COLEMAN

IN TWO VOLUMES

VOLUME II

DURHAM :

PRINTED BY F. HUMBLE AND SON, SADDLER-STREET.

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DEDICATION.

TO THE RIGHT REVEREND

CHARLES JAMES BLOMFIELD, D.D.,

LORD BISHOP OF LONDON.

MY LORD,

I presume to dedicate the following pages to your Lordship, without previously soliciting permission to do so ; because I am most anxious to obtain the favor, approbation, and patronage of your Lordship, to the opinions and labors of the "Tractarian British Critics." Nearly ten years have elapsed since I and my brethren, lamenting the sad condition to which the Church was reduced by the detestable Ultra-Protestants of the day, resolved to endeavour to restore the pristine regard to external religion, to direct the public attention to the antient observances of the primitive Churches, to re-set the limb of the Reformation, to go back nearer to Rome, though without submitting to the Papal su-

premacy altogether, or fully embracing the articles of the Council of Trent. *The time has not yet arrived, for our deciding how far we shall go ;* but we have resolved to commence our progress back towards Rome, by adopting the principles of Bonner and Gardiner ; and of many other eminent, though much calumniated Prelates who opposed the present Prayer-book of the Church, the second Service-book of King Edward ; on account of the omissions which render it dissimilar to the venerable liturgies of antiquity. We have begun to wage war with our Prayer-book, because it has omitted prayers for the dead, the doctrine of an actual and undefinable sacrifice in the Eucharist, the use of altars, the exorcism of the devil from the infant in baptism, and the use of the chrism in the same sacred ceremony. I have pointed out the miserable state of the Prayer-book in these respects, in my Tracts and Reviews ; and I have considered in my survey of the conduct of Bonner, during the reign of the pious Mary, the best mode of once more changing the religion of the country. The venerable Bonner, your Lordship's predecessor in the See of London, was most anxious to destroy the influence of the present Prayer-book ; to do away communion tables ; to restore

altars, candles, vestments, and ceremonies which our wretched Ultra-Protestant innovators, I will not call them Reformers, abolished and destroyed. He was anxious to restore Prayers for the Dead, the actual Sacrifice, and the Holy Canon of the Mass. All these things, I and my brethren are eagerly desirous to restore. In all these points we agree with the venerable Bonner. Whether it be, that the name of Bonner is odious to your Lordship's episcopal brethren, or that they are not yet prepared to second our useful and reasonable projects, I cannot say ; but so it is that, in carrying out our plans, we have found ourselves opposed and thwarted by many, from whom we more peculiarly anticipated protection and defence. Anxious as we have been on all occasions to declare our veneration for the Bishops of the Church, to defer to their office, to declare them to be the successors of the Apostles, and the representatives of Christ ; *we have not found one Bishop of the Anglican Church, who has ventured to become our partizan, supporter, or friend.* One wise American Bishop alone is said to be the only episcopal upholder of our projected changes, and our proposed schemes of good. In these afflicting circumstances, I have thought it advisable to endeavour to

obtain, by one bold effort, the countenance of the successor of the apostolical Bonner in the See of London, and to solicit his candid consideration of our efforts. Though your Lordship, equally with Bonner, is the successor of the Apostles, your Lordship up to this time resembles that illustrious Anti-Protestant, neither in principles, temper, severity, zeal, nor energy. You have been contented with the patient administration of the discipline of the Church, without innovation or change. You have taught its doctrines without qualifying or doubting them. You have proposed no novel opinions, whether by reviving those that are obsolete, or introducing those that are unknown before. You have withheld your express condemnation, however, from us, though you have not publicly approved of us. Permit me then, my Lord, to beg you to read our Tracts, to study our Reviews, to ponder the pages of Froude, our great hierophant, and to become a convert to the revival of the primitive customs, practices, and institutions of the purer ages of antiquity. If your Lordship says that you are satisfied with the Church as it is, and demand by what criteria you may form your conclusions of the expediency, and utility, of the customs and doctrines we propose to revive ; I implore your

Lordship, not to be still guilty of the Ultra-Protestantism which is contented with what is called the Reformation; and never with the miserable Ultra-Protestant to seek to know the expediency or the utility only of an ecclesiastical rite, ceremony, or ordinance. I beg your Lordship to consider with us, not whether it be useful or expedient; but whether it be antient, and sanctioned by antiquity and tradition—whether it be sanctioned by that one beloved rule of Vincentius Lirinensis—“*quod semper, quod ab omnibus, quod ubique.*” If we can prove that any custom was engrafted upon the four earliest Liturgies of the Church, and was thus adopted always, by all people, and everywhere; then, I trust, your Lordship will agree with me, that such custom, *whether it be useful and expedient or not*, is of apostolic origin, and, therefore, it *ought to be retained in all the Churches throughout all England.*

Your Lordship will ask, where such custom can be found. I and my brethren have endeavoured to prove that Prayers for the Dead, the actual Sacrifice, the Chrism, and many other things, though I cannot prove them to be certainly of Scriptural origin, may be defended upon these principles. There is, however, one antient custom, which I have not yet in-

sisted upon in my Tracts and Reviews, which combines all, every one of the criteria which I mention, and which I do therefore humbly trust your Lordship will immediately cause to be revived in St. Paul's Cathedral, and in all the Churches of the Diocese of London. It is this—the custom of the *Clergyman to kiss his congregation*. We have Scriptural authority for its origin—"Greet ye one another with a holy kiss," (1 Thess. v., 26; 1 Peter v., 14.) We have the authority for this custom of the four holy antient Liturgies, which we believe, in spite of many undoubted innovations, to have been deduced from the Apostles, or from their immediate successors; the very same Liturgies which teach us that there is an actual Sacrifice in the Eucharist, and which contain a prayer that "God will make the bread and wine the body and blood of Christ."* St. Peter's Liturgy, which is the Roman, Milanese, and African: St. James's Liturgy, which is the Oriental: St. Mark's Liturgy, which is the Egyptian and Ethiopian: St. John's Liturgy, which is the Gallican, Ephesian, and Mozarabic; all command the kiss of peace, as well as prayers for the dead. The eighth

* See Mr. Palmer's work on Liturgies, and Tracts for the Times, 63-8, &c.

book of the Apostolical constitutions,* the earliest collected laws of the Church, commands the Deacon, at the time of the consecration of the bread and wine, to say to the people, "Salute ye one another with an holy kiss," and then the Clergy salute the Bishop : laymen, laymen : women, women : while the Deacons walk about and see that there be no tumult. The giving of the kiss of peace is alluded to by Chrysostom ;† by Cyril, of Jerusalem ;‡ by Justin Martyr ;§ frequently by Augustine ;|| and frequently also by Tertullian.¶ Tertullian tells us, that the kiss was given promiscuously, and without distinction, by men and women, though some scrupled to give the kiss on a fast day.** In short, there is no one antient ceremony which so entirely unites all the criteria of the propriety of its establishment among us. "It was an antient rite," says Bingham, "universally observed in the Church." It combines in its favour, Scripture, tradition, antiquity, universality. It was observed by all the antient Christians, every where,

* Lib. 8, c. 11.

† Hom. 3, in Coloss., p. 1388.

‡ Cyril, Catech. Myst., N. 2.

§ Just., Apol., p. 97.

|| Hom. 83, de diversis, T. 10, p. 556.

¶ Ad Uxor., Lib. 2, cap. 4.

** See Bingham, book xv., cap. iii., sect. iii., and his references.

at all times, in the purer and pattern ages of the Church. *I trust, therefore, that your Lordship will not enquire into the usefulness, propriety, or expediency of the custom ; but act upon our principles, and revive the custom, because it was antient and universal.* If your Lordship will thus far be guided by our plans of endeavouring to restore the antient rites, and the external ordinances of the Church—if your Lordship will but issue an order, (for there is no law in our Church to the contrary,) that immediately after the prayer of the consecration at the Sacrament, the Clergy, the men, and the women, the old and the young, shall all get up, go round the Church, and kiss each other—*if the wise, reasonable, and orthodox principles of myself and my friends be thus far carried out by the Bishop of London ;* then I shall not despair of hearing that he has followed the example of Bonner in endeavouring to restore the actual Sacrifice in the Eucharist, in condemning the modern Prayer-book, and in commanding prayers for the dead. If we can but make a convert of your Lordship, we shall soon win the bench of Bishops, the Clergy, the orthodox, and eventually all the people, excepting always the contemptible Ultra-Protestant.

Unless we thus obtain some decided encouragement on the part of the Episcopal heads of the Church, we cannot, I fear, hope to do away with the Prayer-book, and re-set the limb of the Reformation. Therefore I make my present appeal to your Lordship. I cannot occupy your Lordship's time by describing the annoying and vexatious contents of the various letters I receive from the readers of my ninety Tracts, the sixty numbers of my Review, and my volumes of Froude's Remains. Some are filled with hatred, others with the sternest language of insult, reproach, and contempt. Some approve and bless us, others abound with irony and painful distress. Some use the language of grief, others of threatening and scorn. I cannot do more than allude to them. If your Lordship, however, will but patronize us, all that is odious and insolent will cease. I confess that we are anxious to be regarded by posterity, with affection and respect; and I shall therefore only mention further, one calamity of which the prospect afflicts me. It is the declaration of some unknown correspondent, that he will brand myself and my brethren with a name which shall make us the scorn of our own day, and the sport, and laughing-stock of posterity. It is to save us from such a fate, that

I do most earnestly implore the intervention of your Lordship. Your Lordship, then, is aware that I and my brethren uniformly prefer the religion of our brethren of the Church of Rome, to the religion of those vile Ultra-Protestants. One of the members of that Church, a gentleman *of whose religion indeed I never heard much more than that he was, as we are, a decided Anti-Protestant*, published many years ago, a poem called “Lalla Rookh.” It is not probable that your Lordship’s graver studies have ever been interrupted by the perusal of this book, which I read when I was a young man. I venture, therefore, to tell you, that a certain character is introduced in the preliminary account of the persons who take a part in the action of the poem, whose name is “*Fadladeen*.” *Fadladeen* is represented as criticizing and condemning all that is animated, great, noble, or poetical, in the dullest of dull criticism. He is described as forming his opinions and conduct upon the sentiment of Sadi the poet—“*Should the Prince at noon-day say it is night; declare that you behold the moon and the stars.*” The letter to which I refer, unkindly and rudely *denounces me and my brethren, as the Fadladeens* of theology and of the Church. “You dare not, you will not,” says the

anonymous writer, “judge of institutions by their
“usefulness, of ceremonies by their fitness, of doc-
“trines by their truth, and of men by their since-
“rity. You seek only what the Church says—*you*
“*seek only what is antient, and you imagine it must*
“*be adapted to the present age, because it was sanc-*
“*tioned by antiquity.* You are as unable to appre-
“ciate the lofty motives, the pure religion, the holy
“zeal, the undaunted courage of the men, who sought
“only for usefulness and truth; when they estab-
“lished our ecclesiastical institutions, preserved a
“certain number only of the more significant cere-
“monies, embodied their doctrines into our articles
“for their truth alone, and estimated and valued
“their countrymen for their holy, sincere, and reso-
“lute determination to establish that form of Chris-
“tianity, which should be desecrated neither by the
“unmeaning relics of antiquity, nor by the caprici-
“ous novelties of modernity—You are as unable to
“understand and value the greatness of heart of the
“martyred compilers of the English Prayer-book,
“as *Fadladeen* was unable to appreciate the tender-
“ness, the gentleness, the harmony, and the sweet-
“ness of the poetry of *Feramorz*. You and your
“brethren,” says our insulter, “may succeed for a

“time in dividing the Clergy of the Church of Eng-
“land on the merits, or demerits of the useful or
“useless innovations you propose to them. *You may*
“*remain in the Church and repent ; or you may*
“*leave the Church and go down to the religious*
“*vanity-fair of the old city of the Anti-Christian*
“*Babylon.* But the Reformers, Ultra-Protestant as
“they were, by God’s blessing upon their labours,
“have so built the walls of our Jerusalem, that the
“daughter of Zion despises the new schismatical
“enemy, and laughs it to scorn. Go down, then,
“to posterity as the revivers of a schism, and as the
“Ultra-Anti-Protestant schismatics of the hour :
“but this shall be the sentence of that posterity upon
“you—That, whereas, all other schisms, and all
“other schismatics, are known by some term derived
“from the opinions they avow, or from the leader they
“follow ; you who profess no new opinions, but
“those that are obsolete, useless, or exploded ; and
“to follow no leader, whose name can dignify your
“folly—your schism shall be known, and your title
“shall be derived, from their resemblance to the opi-
“nions and to the character, which one of the most
“decided Ultra-Anti-Protestants of the day has ima-
“gined and depicted. *Your schism shall be Fad-*

“ladeenery, and yourselves shall be the sect of the “Fadladeens.”—Here the letter ended. From this fate, I trust your Lordship will preserve us. I only know that, if anything will drive us downward more rapidly to Rome, than we are now going, it will be such unjust contempt as this. We do not desire, at present at least, to go so far as to Rome: but I warn those, who thus treat us, that they will be the cause of our joining the Church of Rome, if we should be induced to be reconciled to that “soothing,” though sometimes severe, mother. We have not yet taken that step. If we do, I am sure that many would imitate our example; for our writings have been very influential, and they have prepared the way for a great change. If the dominion of His Holiness be ever restored in England, such contempt as this will recoil on its Ultra-Protestant authors. If it should ever so be, that the Papal supremacy be revived among us, I am sure that the people will never forget that its best introducer, supporter, and friend, was your Lordship’s obliged and faithful friend and servant,

“A TRACTARIAN BRITISH CRITIC.”

October 23rd,
Feast of St. Ignatius Loyola.

INTRODUCTION.

MANY of the misguided Ultra-Protestants, who have so long deceived both themselves and the people, by eulogizing the Reformation and the Revolution, have been accustomed to pronounce the character and conduct of Edmund Bonner, to be totally incapable of defence. These persons will profess to be surprized at the object of the following work. I shall not, however, be prevented either by their surprize, or their censure, from attempting to vindicate this distinguished Prelate, from the calumnies and misrepresentations of his numerous and unsparing enemies. To rescue, indeed, the name of a Bishop from unjust odium—to prove the absolute necessity of the supposed severities, by which he endeavoured to prevent the extension of the opinions of the foreign Reformers, among the deluded people of England—to justify the Catholic opinions

he entertained, respecting both the giving the Scriptures to the people, and the folly of imagining that the ignorant mechanic and peasant, because he reads his Bible, or hears it read in the Churches, is able to form conclusions respecting God and the soul, which shall be right and acceptable to God—to vindicate the wise and holy decisions of Bishop Bonner, who endeavoured to restore to the country, that service of the Mass, which we, the Tractarian British Critics, deem, in spite of modern popular prejudice, to be worthy of such restoration*—to defend, in short, the general conduct of a Bishop, whose opinions were nearly the same as our own, and whose principles we generally approve ; might perhaps be expected from us, by those who have read our Oxford Tracts, and our Articles in the British Critic, or Quarterly Theological Review. Some of our number, it is true, will shrink from encountering the abundant prejudice which envelopes the name of Bishop Bonner. I am not one of them. I perceive that there is a very extraordinary agreement between the conclusions and opinions of Bishop Bonner, and ourselves. Others

* Froude's Remains, vol. I., p. 387.

may shrink from declaring this. I shall not. I am prepared to carry out my principles. We have already made a considerable sensation in the country. We have astonished some, and confounded others. Though the Bishops of Chester, Winchester, Durham, Ripon, Lichfield, Ohio, Virginia, the Archbishop, we grieve to say, and even the present successor of Bishop Bonner himself, have condemned the chief of our conclusions ; we have convinced many, of the expediency and necessity of so reforming our Church, that it shall again adopt the principles of the illustrious Bonner. If it be asked who I am—I answer in the words of the first of those Tracts which have produced so much controversy—“ *I am but one of yourselves, a Presbyter ; and therefore I conceal my name, lest I take too much on myself, by speaking in my own person—yet speak I must, for the times are very evil, yet no one speaks against them.*”* The knowledge of my name cannot be necessary to the more effectual reception of the Truths I wish to inculcate. From Tract 1 to Tract 90—and in very many of the Articles in the British Critic, I have endeavoured to remove the evil of the times in

* Tract 1, Sept. 9, 1833.

which I live, and to speak against them. I shall continue these efforts. By shewing that Jewell, Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridley, were, as bad as "*irreverend dissenters*,"* wavering apostates, rude preachers, and inconsistent religionists, I have, already, weakened the pillars of the Reformation; and I shall now proceed to strengthen the principles to which these persons were opposed, by shewing that Bonner, the great enemy of them all, was neither an "*irreverend dissenter*," nor in any respect like these men; but that he was a learned civilian, a profound Canonist, a strenuous supporter of the traditions and commandments of the Church, and worthy of as much approbation as any other of his learned, grave, reverend, and episcopal coadjutors. The "*Reformation is a broken limb*," as my friend Froude says, "*badly set*"†—and we require such surgeons as Bonner to break this limb again, and to set it once more, though the patient may suffer much in the operation. Not only, too, am I actuated by a just and holy zeal for the credit of the apostolic succession, and of

* My dear friend Froude applies this name, justly, to Jewell. Remains, vol. 1, p. 380.

† Froude's Remains, vol. 1, p. 483.

the succession of those Bishops of London, who were very different men from the present and late occupiers of that See ; but I am jealous for the honor and credit of the noble University of Oxford, of which Bishop Bonner was a learned and eminent member. The chief of the Reformers were Cambridge men. Wycliffe, it is true, was of Oxford, as were many others. But the principal portion of the disgrace of giving such men as Cranmer and Latimer to the world, proceeds from Cambridge. The great difference between the religious and philosophical education which is given at Oxford, and that which is given at Cambridge, consists in this. At Oxford the tutors endeavour to bias the mind by authority—at Cambridge by evidence. At Oxford we have much of Aristotle, and less of Locke and Paley—at Cambridge the modern Christian metaphysicians are preferred to the antient Pagan. At Oxford we laudably endeavour to repress the exercise of private judgment : for the reasons which I have given already in the pages of the *British Critic**—at Cambridge they so teach young men to think freely, that their tutors may be said to be responsible for

* No. 59, July, 1841. Article, *Private Judgment*.

the very errors which result from the mistaken liberty. At Oxford we remember that “*an act of private judgment is in its very idea an act of individual responsibility, and that this is a consideration which will come with especial force on a conscientious mind when it is to have so fearful an issue as a change of religion—for—a religious man will say to himself ‘If I am in error at present, I am IN ERROR BY A DISPOSITION OF PROVIDENCE, which has placed me where I am : and if I change into an error this is my own act—it is much less fearful to be born at disadvantage, than to place myself at disadvantage’*”*. We dare not, therefore, increase the fearfulness of Man’s responsibility. We teach our young men, if they are born in error, to remain in error, rather than incur the risk of going wrong, if God has not placed them right at the time of their birth†—whereas, at Cambridge, the Tutors are prevented by no scruples of this kind, from inculcating on the minds of their pupils, that Christianity is so founded upon evidence, and the Church is so capable of defence because of its intrinsic value, that every man may be safely left to his own bold and free judgment, on the merits both of

* British Critic, No. 51, page 105.

† Ibid.

Christianity, and of its institutions. They first teach what they believe to be truth ; they then teach their young men to reason for themselves ; and they thus increase responsibility, instead of lessening it. Bonner, as an Oxford divine, would have enforced the teaching which I recommend. Bonner would have said "*that if he as a religious man were in error, by a disposition of Providence,*" he might go more wrong by endeavoring to change his opinion, than by remaining in his error. This was Bonner's conviction. The manner in which he acted upon that conviction, however conscientious I can prove him to have been, gives offence to modern Churchmen, and especially to the Ultra-Protestants. I and my friends hope, by steady perseverance as "British Critics," to change the common prejudices on these points ; and to restore as much as possible the opinions and practices of this venerable, and calumniated, Bishop. The time has arrived when I must speak more plainly than I have hitherto done—" *I am ready to endure, however I may lament, the undeniable and in themselves disastrous effects of the pending controversy.*"* I have used the word, and I shall

* British Critic, No. 59, p. 45.

not retract it—my object and that of my friends is to “UNPROTESTANTIZE THE NATIONAL CHURCH.* *I use an offensive, but forcible word,*” to describe our great and noble design. “*We cannot stand where we are ; we must go backwards or forwards ; and it will surely be the latter. It is absolutely necessary towards the consistency of the system, which certain parties are labouring to restore, that truths should be clearly stated, which as yet have been but intimated ; and others developed which are now but in germ. AND, AS WE GO ON, we must RECEDE MORE AND MORE FROM THE PRINCIPLES, IF ANY SUCH THERE BE, of the English Reformation.*”† But if we unprotestantize the nation, we romanize, or papalize the nation : and our object, therefore, is, in other words, I will not deny it, though others may—our object is, to “*restore the Antient Religion*”—which Bonner professed and encouraged ; for which he used so much severity against the Ultra-Protestants ; and for which he died in prison. The sad circumstances, however, in which we are placed render it necessary to restore it by degrees. “*Medicine is never so unpalatable as when sipped. Besides, it is in its*

* British Critic, No. 59, page 45.

† Ibid.

*integrity only, and not in its isolated portions that Catholicism has promise of subduing the intellects, and engrossing the hearts of men, to the discomfiture of all rival claimants, and the preclusion of all inferior influences. At the present time any suggestion seems worth hazarding, which, in minds to which it may chance to commend itself, may operate towards a considerate estimate of the difficulties and temptations of those who differ from us.”**

Neither am I jealous only of the honor of the University of which Edmund Bonner was an illustrious member : I am anxious to prove that his holy zeal, Anti-Protestant opinions, animated severity, and uniform regard of the ordinances of the Catholic Church, render Bonner as certainly worthy of the sacred title of Saint, as those whom I have already called by that desirable name. He is undoubtedly as much a Saint, as Thomas Beckett. I have called this holy man a “*blessed Saint and Martyr of the Most High*,” and I have expressed “*my indignation, at hearing this blessed Saint slandered*” by Bishop Jewell, an Ultra-Protestant “*Teacher of yesterday ;*”† when he affirms,

* British Critic, No. 59, page 45.

† British Critic, No. 59, page 42.

with his prejudiced party, that “the true cause of Beckett’s death was his ambition, vanity, and wilful maintenance of manifest wickedness in the Clergy.” I have also in the same page of my favorite Review boldly called the firm and zealous Hildebrand the “*Predecessor of St. Thomas of Canterbury in the same holy cause, another Saint of the Most High.*” No censure has been passed upon me for so doing. No Ultra-Protestant has raised his voice, or drawn his pen, against this bold step in our progress towards “UN-PROTESTANTIZING” the National Church, Whether this silence proceeds from astonishment at our just decidedness, or from affected contempt, or from incipient approbation, or from deep and loathing anger and indignation, I neither know nor care. This only I know, that I am resolved to proceed, till the Church of England adopts our principles, or excludes us from its communion. I and my friends are determined to go on till the “SIN OF 1688”* is removed—till the “un-

* The Revolution of 1688 is thus denominated by my dear friend, Dr Pusey, in his Sermon preached at St Mary’s, Oxford. The effects of that sin, though it brought the Hanover Family to the throne, must be removed at all hazards. It is as I have said, the “*Rebellion of 1688, when the Church sustained the great*

churching” of “*the Anglicans by the Protestantism which has mixed itself up with their ecclesiastical proceedings,*” is done away—till the union of the Church and State, as an establishment, is no longer the subject of boasting. We are intent upon convincing the people that “*to be a mere establishment is unworthy of the Catholic Church, and to be shut out from the rest of Christendom is not a subject of boasting.*”*

The Ultra-Protestant may believe that England is the Canaan of God in the latter times ; and that the union of the Churches of the Holy Catholic Church of Christ, of which the prophets seem to speak, may be effected by the coming in of the nations to the Light, Liberty, Church, and Religion of England. We believe that such union will take place by the going down of England, back again, to many of the opinions, and to much of the discipline of Rome, which England has rejected. The Ultra-Protestant may absurdly make the real or the supposed faults of the Apostolical Succession a cause for a Christian’s depending

loss of Christian principle ; and when she threw, as it were, out of her pale, Christ crucified (together with Kenn and Kettlewell). A low tone of morals has ever since pervaded her teaching.” See my Tract No. 80, page 95.

* British Critic, No. 59.

on his reason, his private judgment, and his own interpretation of the Scripture ; whatever be the decisions of the Church. He may believe nothing, unless he is convinced of its truth ; whatever be the authority which appeals to him. But we, the Tractarian British Critics, teach the world—that, whatever be the past, real, or supposed faults of the Apostolical Succession, the present rulers of the Church may justly require the people, implicitly, to submit their reason, judgment, and scriptural conclusions, to their own divinely granted authority. Both of us acknowledge that the authority of the Church, like that of a parent, proceeds from Heaven : but the Ultra-Protestant considers himself “*as an adult and reasoning child, who is permitted to examine the truth of the teaching of his parents, while he confesses the parent’s authority.*”* We consider both him and the people to be as infant children only, incapable of distinguishing between the truth or falsehood, of the teaching of the parent ; and as guilty, therefore, of great presumption, and crime, and blasphemy, if they dare to reject the parent’s conclusions. Both

* See Mr Townsend’s Sermon at Birmingham, and the Notes, 1838.

the Ultra-Protestants and the Tractarians assume the honorable name of Catholic : but the Ultra-Protestant receives nothing as Catholic which is not based on Scripture, as well as sanctioned by the customs and teaching of the earlier centuries. The Tractarian believes that some things are to be received as Catholic and of divine authority, on which the Scriptures are silent, but on which the Fathers of antiquity are eloquent. Among the upholders of the Ultra-Protestant opinions are found few Popes, Archbishops, and Bishops, though they may sometimes be able to refer to an antient Pope—to Cranmer and Howley as Archbishops—to Jewell, Ridley, and others as Bishops. The Tractarian British-Critic notions, which I am advocating, were and are upheld by the later Popes, in their long Apostolical succession—by Bishops without number—by councils, traditions, and fathers, without end. We boast no Wycliffe, nor Luther, nor Latimer, nor Ridley, nor Cranmer, nor any of their wild followers. These we leave to the Ultra-Protestants of the day. We boast, and I boast, of the holy train of Popes, such as Hildebrand—of Archbishops such as Beckett—of Bishops such as the ve-

nerable Bonner, whose life I shall now record, whose character I shall now vindicate, whose actions, with some exceptions, I approve, and whose opinions I have been so long resolutely defending, and will defend. I invite the attention of the Anglican Catholic, who is not an Ultra-Protestant, to the History of the Bishop of London, the calumniated, yet venerable, Edmund Bonner.

LIFE OF EDMUND BONNER.

SECTION I.

FROM HIS BIRTH TO THE DEATH OF HENRY VIII.

ABOUT forty years before the enactment of the fatal measure, which separated* the Church of England from the Church of Rome, by declaring the King, and not the Pope, to be the head of the Church in this kingdom—before the *desperate remedy, and the fearful penalty of the Reformation which disturbed the peace and infringed the unity of the Christian body*,†—while the repose of the Catholic

* The Ultra-Protestants would tell us, that the Bull of Pope Pius in the reign of Elizabeth, in which those who were attached to the Pope and to the communion with Rome, were commanded to absent themselves from their Parish Churches, was the cause of the separation between the two Churches. But that Bull was only the punishment of the continued rejection of the dominion of the Bishop of Rome. I have already said in my favorite Review, that the *union of the whole Church, under one visible head, is the most perfect state*;* and I believe that the Bishop of Rome ought to be that visible head, because *Rome is our elder sister, our mother, to whom we owe it that we are, what we are.*† *Rome was our mother, through whom we were born to Christ.*‡

† British Critic, No. 59, p. 1.

* British Critic, No. 59, p. 2. † Ibid, No. 59, p. 3. ‡ Tract 77, p. 33.

Church was still preserved, in spite of the efforts of the Wycliffite, Lollardite, Ultra-Protestants, who were controlled by the salutary severity of the Papal Canon law—before that baneful Protestantism which “*is only the religion of corrupt human nature,*”* and which is “*essentially unchristian,*”† was known to the statute law of England,‡—Edmund Bonner was born of poor but honest§ parents, at Hanley, in Worcestershire. Being a youth of good promise, he was sent to school, by Mr. Lechmore, an ancestor of Nicholas Lechmore, Esq., one of the Barons of the Exchequer in the reign of the Dutch Usurper; who, under the plea of defending England from Popery, and arbitrary power, dethroned his father-in-law, founded the

* British Critic, No. 59, p. 27. This is, on the whole, my favourite Number.

† British Critic. No. 59, p. 29.

‡ My friend Archbishop Whately endeavours to prove in his work on Popery that Romanism, and not Protestantism, is the religion of corrupt human nature. For this purpose he selects certain peculiarities of Romanism, and argues from them to prove his position. The good Archbishop, however, whom I value on account of his placing the observance of the Christian Sabbath on the decision of the Church, forgets, that the pride of human reason, the sin of Protestantism, is much worse than any of the supposed errors of the Church. If a man thinks as the Church thinks, he is safe. His own judgment may mislead him: and that is the greatest sin, which makes a man's danger greatest.

§ For the refutation of the story that he was illegitimate, see Note H., to the Article of his Life in the Biog. Brit., to which and to the references therein to Wood's Athen. Oxon: Newcourt's Repertorium, Howe, Hollinshed, Burnett, Strype, Heylin, Foxe, Wharton, Collier, and Godwin, I direct the reader.

national debt, expelled the right line of the Stuarts, and so firmly established the principles of the Ultra-Protestants, who supported him ; that the advocates of the right of private judgment have actually succeeded in placing the Hanover family, for a whole century and a half, on the throne of England. I and my friends are exerting ourselves to overthrow these principles. Others, who do not fully, or generally, agree with us, are endeavoring to persuade the Hanover family to act upon the principles of the Stuarts. When success has crowned our joint labors—when we have succeeded in reviving the influence of the old system, and in doing away with “*the Sin of 1688*”—when our principles are thoroughly carried out—we hope to see the antient dynasty restored, and the whole Ultra-Protestantism of the age entirely done away. Length of time cannot sanction usurpation. If we advocate the Stuart Principles, we ought not to rest till we repose under the shadow of the legitimate heir to the crown of England, the Duke of Modena ; and, till we revive, with the revival of the Stuart Principles, the Stuart Dynasty. This, however, is a digression. My zeal carries me away. The anticipation of this great result of the labors of myself, and of my friends, must plead my excuse. Yet it is good to be zealously affected against Sin—especially against political Sin—and the zeal of my friend, Dr. Pusey, against that great Sin, “*the Sin of 1688*,” is more peculiarly worthy of imitation by me, his unworthy admirer and follower.

About the year 1512, Edmund Bonner was admitted as a Student at Broadgate Hall, now Pembroke College, in my own beloved Oxford. He was not a student at the College of the same name in that unfortunate University, the contemplation of whose principles and teaching makes a thorough Oxford man melancholy. He was not a student of Pembroke College, in Cambridge. He would then have been the fellow-student or the pupil of such Ultra-Protestants as that "traitor, renegade, and slave,"* Ridley—who succeeded him in the See of London; and who had the presumption to tell the Anti-Protestant Queen Mary, that the word of God was better understood in the days of her brother

* See Smedley's *Lux Renata*, (on Ridley) and his references to Dr. Lingard. Smedley describes the works of this candid, accurate, and faithful historian, in language which I quote, to shew how much prejudice we have to remove; when even those who are not to be called Ultra-Protestants, can sometimes speak harshly of our dear brethren, who wish with us to see better days for England:—

In softer temper, and less fiery guise,
The grave historian to his task applies :
Sleek, snug, and subtle, round about his hole
He grubs, and worms the dirt up like a mole :
Toils under ground, and from his covert rears
The dark deposit of forgotten years.
His dingy labors open and enlarge
Tale, whisper, scandal, imputation, charge ;
Blasts of suspicion, which reproof defy,
Base fraud, lame slander, groundless calumny.

Line 639, note, p. 58.

Edward, than of her father Henry.* The great Bonner escaped this danger. He was educated at Broadgate Hall, now Pembroke College,† which was at that time a noted nursery for Civilians and Canonists.‡ We consider this kind of education to be of peculiar value to a good theologian. It is in some respects superior even to the study of Aristotle itself. Like that, the favorite study of the University of Oxford, it is founded neither on Scriptural, nor on Protestant, principles. As the study of Aristotle has no reference to the reasoning of a Christian on Christian principles: so the study of the civil and canon law may be conducted, without

* See the account in that lying, slandering, malicious, hateful, detestable, abusive, wicked, scandalous, horrible, and most Ultra-Protestant book, "The Acts and Monuments of John Foxe,"—a book which has done more harm to the system we wish to restore; and rendered more benefit to the Ultra-Protestant cause, than any book in the language. We shall never establish Tractarianism, till Foxe's book be despised or forgotten.—*See the account in Book 9, vol. 6, p. 354, (new edition.)*

† Collegium quod hodie Pembrochianum dicitur, olim Latarum Portarum aulæ nomine claruit. Cum vero Thomas Tisdale de Glineton, in usum Reipublicæ Literariæ pecunias legaverat quibus Reditus ad alendos septem Socios, et sex discipulos, e scholâ præcipue Abendunensi eligendos, comparari possent: et Richardus Whatwicke, S.S. Theologiæ Bacalaureus, Tres socios, Quatuorque discipulos addidisset: Collegium ibi loci instituentum concessit Jacobus Rex, quod in honorem D. Gulielmi Herbert, Pembrochiæ comitis academici tunc temporis Pembrochianum,—appellari visum est.—*Notitia Oxoniensis, p. 94: London, 1675.*

‡ Anthony Wood.—*Athen. Oxon. vol. 1, p. 158, No. 180.*

reference to any of the peculiar truths or doctrines of the Holy Scriptures. Both studies are utterly free from Ultra-Protestantism ; but the study of the civil and papal canon law (while, like the reasoning of Aristotle, it takes the mind away from the foundations, which make the lovers of Scriptural truth despise both studies), biasses the reason to the adoption of the regulations of the Church. Scriptural reasonings and conclusions are derived from the study of the will of God. Constitutional reasonings, such as modern politicians prefer, is founded on the study of the will of the people. The reasonings and conclusions of the civilians were drawn from the study of the will of princes. The reasonings of the papal canonists were drawn from the study of the will of the Popes and of the Church ; and they became identified with those of the civilians, when the Popes took the place of Kings and Princes. The principles, therefore, of canonical obedience, became identified with those of civil obedience. The Protestant pretends to seek for truth in Scripture, and for freedom in constitutional laws. The Anti-Protestant seeks neither for truth nor freedom. He looks only for peace and obedience, without regard either to truth or freedom : and he finds these in the civil and canonical laws, which appear to modern prejudices to be contemptible and absurd. Bonner went to a College where the civil and canon law was preferred to any laws derived from the Scriptures ; and his profiting appeared in the subsequent severities by which he

endeavored to uphold the "*providential check, in the reign of Mary, to that spirit of change which had begun in the reign of her brother.*"*

Having made sufficient progress in philosophy, and in the civil and canon law, Bonner was admitted on the 12th of June, 1519, Bachelor of the Canon Law, and on the day following, Bachelor of the Civil Law. Two others were admitted with him in the canon, and eight in the civil law, but their names are not mentioned by Wood.† He was made a Doctor in Civil Law on the 12th of July, in the year 1525.

The precise time when Bonner entered into Holy Orders is not known. It is supposed that he was ordained about the same time that he took his degree of Bachelor in Canon and Civil Law. Wood‡ informs us, that after he became a Clergyman, he performed many matters, relating to his faculty, in the Diocese of Worcester,§ by the appointment of the Bishop of the Diocese of that day. His knowledge of the canon

* British Critic, No. 59, p. 5.

† Wood's Fasti, Oxon. p. 27.—On comparing Wood's Fasti with the Athen. Oxon., it will be perceived that they contradict each other in the account of Bonner. The mistake is rectified in the Biog. Britannica.

‡ Athen. Oxon, vol. 1, page 158.

§ The Bishop of Worcester, at this time, was Jerome, an Italian, appointed by the Pope, and residing in Italy, or on the Continent. He was deprived for non-residence, together with Lawrence Campegius, the Bishop of Salisbury, another Italian, in the 29th of Henry VIII.—See the *Coll. Records, Burnett's Reformation*, vol. 1, p. 11, folio edit. 1670.

law recommended him to the notice of Wolsey, at the time when the limits of the powers of the Pope, and of the King, were coming daily into more frequent discussion. Wolsey soon rewarded his learning and virtue. Bonner was appointed, in 1525, about the time in which he took his degree of Doctor in the Civil Law, to the charge not of one, but of several benefices. This will seem strange in the present day. But if the Church revenues, as Paley argues, be a common fund, for the reward of the greatest virtue ; the accumulation of livings upon one person who renders more service to the Church by his knowledge and learning than another, may be defended upon that plea. An Ultra-Protestant would tell us, that benefices and church livings, parishes and all parochial divisions, were instituted for the better improvement of the people ; and not for the reward of the clergyman. He would affirm, and in this I cannot but agree with him, that pluralities were indefensible, because the incumbent could not be present in two places at once, and some portion of the people must consequently be neglected. I am sorry, therefore, that Dr. Bonner accepted so many benefices. Much as I love this great man, I acknowledge that it is but reasonable that the shepherd should dwell among his flock. Yet it must be remembered that a clergyman, in the days of our fathers, had other things to attend to, than the souls of the people. He had the canon and civil law to study, that, like Bonner, he might be employed upon

difficult embassies to the Pope ; and upon various foreign missions. The providing the charges for such expensive employments, were defrayed from the revenues of the Church. We read, therefore, that though Bonner was not distinguished for his theological learning, he was celebrated for his skill and dexterity in the management of other affairs.* For this reason he was much noticed by Cardinal Wolsey ; who, like Bonner, was more admired for his law, than his theology. He was made by Wolsey Commissary of his Faculties ; and to reward his labors in that capacity, he held, at the same time, the Rectories of Ripple Bleadon ; Dercham, in Essex ; Cheswick, in Middlesex ; and Cherry Burton, in Yorkshire. Our surprize too, that so many preferments were held by one person will cease, when we remember also, not only the learning of this eminent casuist, but remember that the Cardinal rewarded less eminent virtue by still more numerous preferments. We read, for instance, that Wolsey granted or procured eleven appointments for a Clergyman by no means so distinguished as Bonner ; and these preferments were so widely scattered, that attention to their various claims was a physical impossibility.†

* Biog. Brit.

† Dr. Winter was at the same time—

No. 1. Dean of Wells ;

2. Prebendary of Sutton, in that Church ;

3. Archdeacon of York and Richmond ;

While the charge of his benefices was confined to Curates or Vicars, Bonner attended Wolsey as his Commissary ; and formed one of his retinue when he was arrested at Cawood. We learn this from Hollinshead.* Immediately after the arrest of Wolsey by the Earl of Northumberland and by Walsh, the King's Chamberlain, "the Cardinal," says Hollinshead, "was sitting at dinner, on All-hallows Day, "having at his board's end divers chaplains sitting "at dinner. Ye shall understand that the Cardinal's "great cross stood in a corner at the table's end, "leaning against the hanging, and when the board's "end was taken up, and a convenient time for the "chaplains to arise, one Doctor Augustine, a Venetian, and physician to the Cardinal, rising from "the table with the others, having upon him a great "gown of boisterous velvet, overthrew the cross, "which trailing down along the carpet, with the "point of one of the crosses, brake Doctor Bonner's "head that the blood ran down. The company there

4. Prebendary of Strenfell, in the same Church ;
5. Chancellor of Sarum ;
6. Prebendary of Bedwin, in the same Church ;
7. Provost of St. John, of Beverley ;
8. Prebendary of Mitton, in the Church of Lincoln ;
9. Prebendary of Norwell, in the Church of Southwell ;
10. Rector of Rindley, in the Diocese of York ;
11. Rector of St. Matthew, in Ipswich.

—*Fidde's Life of Cardinal Wolsey*, p. 530, note 9.

* Hollinshead, Henry VIII., A.D. 1530. A.R. 22, p. 915. Ed. 1585.

“standing were greatly astonished with the chance.
“The Cardinal perceiving the same, demanded what
“the matter meant by their sudden amaze. They
“shewed him of the fall of his cross upon Dr. Bon-
“ner’s head. ‘Hath it (quoth he) drawn any
“blood?’ ‘Yea, forsooth, my Lord’ (quoth they.)
“With that he cast his eyes aside, and shaking his
“head, said, ‘*Malum omen,*’ and therewith saying
“grace, rose from the table and went to his cham-
“ber. Now mark the signification how the Cardinal
“expounded this matter at Pomfret, after his fall.
“First, ye shall understand that the cross which he
“bare as Archbishop of York, signified himself; and
“Augustine, who overthrew the cross, was only he
“that accused the Cardinal, whereby his enemies
“caught an occasion to overthrow him. It fell
“upon Dr. Bonner’s head, who was master of the
“Cardinal’s faculties and spiritual jurisdictions, and
“was then damnified by the overthrow of the cross :
“yea, and moreover, drawing blood of him betoken-
“ed death, which shortly after did insue.” I have
given this anecdote at full length from Hollinshead,
because it is omitted by all the biographers of Bon-
ner; and because also it shews us where he was,
and how he was employed in the year 1529-1530, the
year in which Wolsey was arrested, and in which he
died. The expences of his attendance upon Wol-
sey were defrayed, we must believe, from his bene-
fices; and this must be regarded as an apology for
his holding so many pluralities.

We must now pass to the more public transactions in which Bonner was engaged.

Soon after the death of Wolsey, we find Bonner high in favor with Henry VIII. In explaining the causes of that favor, I am sorry to be compelled to have recourse to that authority whom the Ultra-Protestants have always so much admired, but whom I and my friends have as uniformly hated and despised—I mean the contemptible martyrologist, John Foxe. From his pages, Burnett has borrowed the letter, a part of which is published in the *Biographia Britannica*, and which, I am required to confess, must be depended upon as authentic. From this letter,* which Foxe quotes from Bonner's own handwriting, and of which he would not, he says, alter one word, we learn that Bonner imputed his success in life to the interference of Cromwell with the King. In this letter, in which are many allusions to the terms of the civil law, he acknowledges that his advancement was begun and continued, only, by the goodness of Cromwell. There can, I think, therefore, be no doubt that Cromwell had observed the fidelity of Bonner to Wolsey; and had probably heard from the Cardinal, or knew from his personal conversation with him, the skill of Bonner in the canon law. He recommended him, on this account most probably, to the King, who gave

* P. 315, Vol. II., Edit. 1684; and p. 150, Vol. V. of the New Edition of the Acts and Monuments.

him, as his first employment, the office of secretary to Sir Edward Carne, who was sent to Rome in a new character, with the title of "Excusator of the King." The Pope, in that fullness of power which belonged to him as the visible Head of the Church, and as the punisher, therefore, of all offences which the common laws of the Church or of the State in any country could not punish; had very properly commanded Henry to appear at Rome, either by proxy or in person; to answer for his conduct in putting away his wife, and marrying that odious "Anne Boleyn."* The Pope had already most paternally exhorted the King to put Anne away, and not to provoke the Emperor and himself, nor break the general peace of Christendom. The King, who still maintained that proper deference to the Pope, which the Ultra-Protestants now refuse, but which no judicious person can withhold, from the chief son of "*our Mother Rome*," wrote a long reply in which he quoted the opinions of the Universities;† and

* This letter is in the Collection of Records, No. 411, Appendix to Book 2, vol. 2 of Burnett's Reformation, and reference is made to the Cotton Lib. Vitel., b. 13. I conclude, therefore, that it is still at Oxford. Burnett gives the substance of the letter in his text.

† Loving both truth and candor, as I do, I am here obliged to confess that the quotation from Pope—

"And Gospel's light first beamed from Boleyn's eyes", is not true. The changes which the Ultra-Protestants advocated, were proposed many ages before Anne Boleyn lived. There never was a period, indeed, when the Bishop of Rome was not opposed, either rightly, or wrongly.

professed, like a good Christian, that “none honoured the Apostolic See more than he had honoured it, and that though he could not obey the Pope in this instance without offending God, and his own conscience, yet he did not intend to impugn the Pope’s authority further, except he compelled him.” It was after the receipt of this letter, that the Pope thought fit to summons Henry to Rome. Sir Edward Carne was sent to excuse his non-appearance. He was commanded to urge two classes of arguments. They were those that were found in the canon law; and those which were derivable from the prerogatives of the Crown of England. In both these Bonner was skilled: and, was, therefore, well qualified for his appointment. The account of the proceedings at Rome on this occasion, is still preserved in a letter of Bonner.* Burnett declares that Bonner, for the sake of preferment, had expressed much zeal for the King’s service; and that he always courted preferment by the most servile ways: for he was a forward and bold man, neither learned nor discreet; and was thought to be fittest for this employment, because some threatenings were to be used to the Pope and Cardinals. On looking over the dispatches from Rome, I can only say, I find no proof that such conduct was adopted on the part of Bonner. He was always a decided, and energetic, partizan of the cause which

* Cotton Library Vitel. b. 13 of Records, Burnett, vol. 1, b. 2, p. 3. folio edition, 1679.

he was taught was right: and he submitted his judgment to the Church. The only question at present was, what was the judgment of the Church. It was not whether the King by his own power, or whether the Pope by his own power, should dissolve the marriage; but whether the canon law, by which all questions concerning marriage should be decided, had permitted the Pope to decree, or the King to obtain a divorce, from the widow of his brother.

I am anxious to defend the conduct of Bonner at the commencement of his career, for the reasons I have mentioned in the favourite number of my Review. I have there said—“*We talk of the blessings of emancipation from the Papal yoke. It is a phrase of a bold and undutiful tenor.*”* Neither Bonner, nor Henry, nor Cromwell, had any intention at this time of emancipating themselves from spiritual communion with the Papacy. This is proved by the conduct of Bonner, on the next public embassy, on which we find him employed. In the year following his mission to Rome,† we find that Bonner was sent to Pope Clement, at Marseilles. An excommunication against King Henry VIII. was justly issued by that Holy Father, because he would not submit to the decision of the Holy See, against his divorce. On this occasion, Bonner was commissioned to take to Marseilles, the authentic copy of the appeal of Henry from the

* British Critic, No. 59, p. 2.

† 1533.

Pope to the next general council. The opinions of the Church were divided on the question, whether a Council was superior to the Pope, or the Pope to a Council ; but all acknowledged that a Council with the Pope, was supreme ; and that if there were any limits to the Papal authority, they could be defined by a Council only. No one presumed to think that the King could decide the question of the divorce in his own favor, by virtue of his own supremacy. The appeal, therefore, from the Pope to the Council implied—that, as the Council and the Pope were supreme over the Church, and the Council only could be superior to the Bishop of Rome ; so the Pope was superior to all others, except a Council. The very fact of an appeal to a Council, implied that there was some undefined and undefinable authority in the Pope. The Pope was considered superior in some manner to Kings, as the King of England was superior to all his subjects. As the King rules with his Parliament, so the Pope was supposed to rule with a Council. As the King is supreme by the laws of his Parliament, the Pope was regarded as supreme, within the limits of conciliar law. As the subject appeals from the King's Court to the Parliament, an appeal lay from the Pope to a Council. As the question whether the King or the Parliament is superior, is undecided by the laws of England ; the superiority of the Pope or the Council, is undecided by the laws of the Church. Within such limits, I believe that Bonner espoused, at this period, the cause of the King. He after-

wards proceeded, I grieve to say, much further ; for he opposed the Papal supremacy in language, which a British Critic of the new school would be unwilling to justify : and though he endeavoured to atone for his inconsistency, by exerting himself to the utmost, to make the Ultra-Protestants, in the reign of Mary, submit to the restored supremacy of the Pope, after the House of Commons, the representatives of the people, had received absolution on their knees ; I cannot approve his wavering. But the greatest men err : and Bonner was not faultless. On the occasion of remonstrating with the Pope at Marseilles, it is said, that his peculiarly energetic manner of expressing the decision of the King gave so much offence ; that the Pope endeavoured to repress that energy, by threatening to throw him into a cauldron of melted lead : or at least to inflict the more usual, but now discontinued punishment, of burning him alive. It is not improbable that the decision and boldness of Bonner was offensive to his Holiness ; but it must be considered doubtful, whether the sacredness of an Ambassador would be violated by the Pope. Whatever may have been the provocation, Bonner is said by his biographers, to have been exceedingly unwilling to incur the danger of the *vivi-comburation*, which he afterwards in the discharge of his duty, so often inflicted upon the Ultra-Protestants in the reign of Mary : and he accordingly made his escape, and returned to England.

1534.—I pass by the several embassies to Denmark,

France, and Germany, on which Bonner was employed. The nation was now continuing its downward course. The former decisions respecting the King's supremacy, had been agreed to by all, as destroying only the civil or political supremacy of Rome over England. An Act of Parliament, however, was passed this year, which gave to a layman, the King, the title of Supreme Head on earth, of the Church of England. I do not read that Bonner protested against this act. More and Fisher were beheaded for refusing their obedience.

1535.—In this year he was made Archdeacon of Leicester. His name as Archdeacon is subscribed to the Articles about Religion, set forth by the Convocation of the Church, and published by authority. The sad decline of the nation from the opinions which had been so long maintained, still proceeded. We had not, it is true, sunk so low as we now are, but the body of unity was destroyed, "*the limb was broken,*" and the first attempt to set it, was made in the next year, by the publication of these Articles of Religion. I mention them, because the name of Bonner as Archdeacon of Leicester, is found among the subscribers. These Articles wisely permitted many things which I am anxious to see restored. They inculcated many doctrines which we desire to re-establish. They sanctioned, or rather they enjoined (which was the wiser course,) Penance, and Auricular Confession, Transubstantiation, the use of Images, the honour due to the Saints, Holy Wa-

ter, Candles, Palms, Ashes, Prayers for the Dead, and some other things which have now most unfortunately become obsolete.

1537.—In this year the completion of the destruction of the Monasteries was effected under the auspices of Cromwell ; and the first fatal blow was thus given to the antient principles, by which the Church had been so long governed. I am happy to find that though the learned Bonner still continued to be the friend of Cromwell, who had not yet suffered the punishment his sacrilege deserved, he was not implicated in these wicked proceedings. Bonner was now the Ambassador in France, where his usual energy, characteristic decision, and true English courage were displayed in expostulating so boldly with the King of France, that that Sovereign, Francis, was highly indignant. Bonner told the King of France that, in refusing to deliver up an unworthy subject of England, who had taken refuge in his kingdom, his Majesty had acted against God, against his honor, against friendship, against all law, against the treaties and leagues between him and his brother the King of England, yea, and against all together. The King of France in reply, bade him write back to his master, that his boldness in such expostulation had compelled him to comply with the King of England's request ; but that if it were not for his regard to his master, he should have had a hundred strokes with the halberds.* The King of France did not rest till he had procured his recal.

* See the account in Foxe ; and in the Biog. Brit.

I am rejoiced to find that Bonner was not concerned in the destruction of the Monasteries. I agree with my lamented friend Mr. Froude, who has been made the subject of so much outrageous abuse from the Ultra-Protestant party, for this very sentiment,—that we must again “*make an opening in England for the reviving of the monastic system*,”* and that in this country, where there is so much religious excitement, “*we must have either monachism or dissent*.”† I am sure that the former is preferable to the latter. Who can calculate the diminution of schism and dissent, and the amount of Catholic benefit which would have resulted to England, if such leaders of the Ultra-Protestants, as Cartwright, Owen, Watts, Doddridge, Henry and Scott, Whitfield and Wesley, had been all shut up in monasteries, and had been compelled, therefore, to be useful, only as the Church directed. We should not then have been pestered by their commentaries on the Bible, nor insulted by their declamations against the traditions of a learned antiquity.

I speak thus, because it was in this fatal year 1537 also, that the Bible, for the first time, was set up in our Churches, and thus given universally to the people. In this fatal year, therefore, the second, and I fear the most irreparable injury was done to the anti-Protestant principles long established in the Church. I must

* Froude's Remains, Vol. 1, p. 322.

† British Magazine, April, 1836, p. 366.

acknowledge that the accumulative testimony of the Fathers, and the intrinsic value of the Holy Scriptures, both concurred to excite, and to continue in the minds of Christians in all ages, an exceeding love and reverence for the Old and New Testaments: and no one more respects them as one source of the true teaching of the Church, than I and my friends; but I, in common with them, and my other friend, Froude, "*nauseate the trumpery expression that Scripture is the sole rule in fundamentals.*"* I agree with him, whom I consider to be a sober, bold "*witness of Catholic truth,*"† who spoke a word in season for the Church of God, that the "*doctrines of the Priesthood and of the Eucharist may be proved from Scripture, provided it is interpreted by tradition.*"‡ A knowledge of tradition, therefore, is required to enable a reader of the Scriptures to interpret them; and the Ultra-Protestant, as I have elsewhere shewn, is wrong, in presumptuously imagining that he may dispense with the Church, by basing his Christianity not on tradition, but on history and criticism.§ The foolish and much perverted saying of Chillingworth, "the Bible, the Bible alone, is the religion of Protestants," was not yet indeed made the watchword of the Ultra-Protestant party: yet so it was, that at

* See my dear friend's book, *Remains*, Vol. 1, p. 417. I recommend this book as one of my favorite works.

† Preface to Froude's *Remains*.

‡ *Remains*, page 420.

§ *British Critic*, No. 51, p. 65.

this time a general and irresistible desire prevailed among the opponents of the Church, the friends of the changes in progress, to possess the Bible. Henry yielded to the pressure from without, and commanded the Bible to be set up in the Churches. The overthrow of the supremacy of the Pope was the first, the destruction of the Monasteries was the second, the setting up of the Bible in the Churches was the third blow, from which the anti-Protestant Church has never recovered. The first measure destroyed the antient authority ; the second removed its best friends ; the third taught every individual, however ignorant he might have been of tradition and antiquity, to think, reason, and place his soul in his worship and aspirations, next to God himself, without any necessary interposition of the priest, who was authorised to direct his prayers. Bonner, who was still our Ambassador to France, was implicated in this last sad measure. Grafton, a London printer, undertook, at his own charge,* the publication of 1500 copies of the Bible. The translation had been sent over to France to be printed at Paris, the workmen in England not being deemed sufficiently skilful to have it confided to their care. It was committed to the charge of our Ambassador Bonner. The permission for its being printed was obtained from the King of France. The French clergy, however, more wise and more sagacious than Crom-

* See the account in Burnet, B. III., p. 249. An. 1538.

well, complained against the measure. The press was stopped. The greater part of the copies was seized and burned. Some, however, were saved; and the workmen, with the printing press, were removed to England, where the work was finished and published; and commanded to be read in the Churches. That miserable Ultra-Protestant John Foxe, makes this obedience of Bonner to the injunctions of Cranmer, that is, to the order of his Sovereign, in whose name Cranmer must have acted, the foundation of an atrocious calumny. Foxe declares that the illustrious Bonner zealously promoted the printing of this Bible, and that he was a Lutheran, a Gospeller, and a fast friend to the Gospel of Christ.* He gives many extracts from his letters, in which he variously says that Bonner desired to advance the truth—that many, both honest men and naughty people, called him a Lutheran,—with other extracts to the same purport. But all these expressions can only refer to the progress which the new changes had actually made. The last instructions which the King had put forth, maintained, as we have seen, *Transubstantiation*, *Auricular Confession to a Priest*, *Prayers for the Dead*, *Honor to the Saints*, and other things which Luther had vainly endeavored universally to abolish. These doctrines Bonner supported. These doctrines I and my friends are anxious to see restored among us. Bonner, there-

* Vol. II., p. 316. Edit. 1684.

fore, was as much a Lutheran as we are. We are as much Lutherans as Bonner.

Why should we be ashamed of saying, that we thus agree with Bonner? With respect to *Transubstantiation*—why, as my dear Froude says, “*why should we flinch from saying that the power of making the body and blood of Christ is vested in the successors of the Apostles.*”* If we do not yet urge this doctrine plainly upon the people, because this heretical age will not bear it, till I and my friends are more successful in our teaching, we are only patiently waiting the opportunity of more boldly preaching it; while in the meantime we keep that “*controversy as much as possible in the back ground, because it cannot yet be discussed without the sacrifice of godly fears. If this doctrine must be opposed, it must be by proving it to be an innovation; a line of discussion which requires learning.*”†

With respect to *Auricular Confession to a Priest*—it was a point of early discipline; and in the manner in which the Council of Trent teaches it, “*it is a practical grievance, and an obstacle to our receiving the grace of the Sacraments in the Roman Church*”; but we do not reject the necessity of confession itself.‡

With respect to *Prayers for the Dead*—we dare not take upon ourselves to say that the dead in

* Froude, p. 326.

† Tract, No. 71, p. 9.

‡ Tract, No. 71, p. 11.

Christ have no interest in our offering of the sacrifice of the blessed Eucharist, "*we know not why men should think it an imperfection that the dead should obtain additional joys and satisfactions thereby.*"* It was a primitive practice ; and though the Ultra-Protestants may be right who affirm that the custom is neither sanctioned by Christ, nor by his Apostles,† yet the Church nowhere restrains her children from praying for their departed friends.‡

With respect also to the *Honor due to the Saints*—we honor the Saints. We believe that the Tridentine decrees that "*we should invoke the Saints, and that the images of Christ, the blessed Virgin, and the other Saints should receive due honor and veneration, may possibly admit of an honest interpretation.*"§ We agree with Bonner and Froude, that people are "*injudicious who talk against Roman Catholics for worshipping Saints ;*" || and I again say, therefore, that while Bonner believed in these things, he does not deserve the reproach of that mendacious, scandalous, Ultra-Protestant martyrologist, John Foxe : neither ought he to be stigmatized as a Lutheran. He certainly contributed to the setting up of

* Tract, No. 81, p. 7.

† We lament that some of my Oxford brethren, whose names out of mere respect, I withhold, have upheld the Ultra Protestants in their objections to this soothing and reverent custom.

‡ Tract, 79, Vol. III.

§ Tract, No. 71, p. 17.

|| Froude, Vol. I., p. 294.

the Bible in the Churches; but he had not learned by fatal experience the painful consequences of that most disastrous measure. At a subsequent period of his calumniated life he endeavored to remedy the evil he had thus, jointly, with his patron Cromwell, brought upon the nation, by endeavoring to remove even the texts of Scripture which had been painted on the walls. When the Bible was placed in the Churches, Bonner remained in France. He was not, therefore, I am rejoiced to say, a party to the injunctions which were issued by Cromwell, and which formed another step in the downward progress of our unfortunate people.* These injunctions commanded the clergy to encourage the people to read the Scriptures, to teach the Lord's Prayer, the Commandments, and the Creed, in their own language. Images were ordered to be removed; no candle even was to be burned before the images, but before the crucifix only. What was worse than all this discontinuance of so many good customs, the suffrages to the Saints were permitted, though not commanded, to be left out of the Litany. A still greater evil may be traced to these injunctions—the use of images for any other purpose than as memorials was called idolatry; though it is well known that the worship of images, or as we call it, the honor due to images, is “*dangerous only to the unedu-*

* See the original injunctions in the Collection of Records. Burnet, I., III., page of the Records 178, and the abstract in the text, page 249.

cated.”* Of these downward steps Bonner was blameless.

Bonner was still Archdeacon of Leicester, when he was commissioned to proceed as Ambassador to France, in the room of Gardiner, who was commanded to attend the German diet at Ratisbon, to watch the proceedings of the German Reformers. There seems to have been some jealousy on this account at this time between himself and that faithful servant of the old system, the Bishop of Winchester. Foxe, to whom I always refer with great unwillingness, has given us the letters which Bonner wrote to Cromwell on this occasion.† They allude only to private affairs. Gardiner was angry that Bonner was appointed to succeed him, and Bonner wrote some general accusations against Gardiner for his want of courtesy and kindness.

Though John Foxe is an author beneath the notice of a Tractarian British Critic, I deem it to be my duty to notice one point to which Foxe alludes, which has often been alleged as one of the principal faults of Bonner, and which I can only defend on the supposition that he sometimes, in his unavoidable ignorance of the future extent to which the Ultra-Protestants would proceed, expressed himself with an apparent rashness, which subsequently occasioned him much

* The Bishop of Exeter, I grieve to say, has condemned my brethren for this opinion. I bow to any Bishop, but lament my disagreement with him.—See Bishop of Exeter's Charge.

† Vol. II., p. 318, old ed.; Vol. V., p. 154, new ed.

grief and sorrow. The blending of his name with that of Gardiner, compels me to notice the circumstance to which I allude.

In the year 1534, Gardiner had published the book *De Verâ Obedientiâ*.* An abstract of the book is given by Foxe,† and I shall not, therefore, analyse it in this place. It is sufficient only to say, that it was considered the best defence of the King's divorce, and the most unanswerable attack on the papal supremacy which had hitherto appeared. To this work a preface was written by Bonner, which was often quoted against him in the reign of Mary, when he had perceived from the fatal lessons in the reign of Edward, the excess and danger of Ultra-Protestantism. I shall not notice the abstract of this preface as it is given by Foxe; nor discuss at length the principles contained in his pages. I mention the book, that I may take the opportunity of protesting against one principle which Foxe has not commented upon, but which appears to me to be so entirely unworthy of Bonner, and so thoroughly identified with the worst Ultra-Protestantism, that I cannot but select it from the rest of the book to hold it up to reprobation. It is this—Bonner

* This celebrated treatise is published in the second volume of the *Fasciculus rerum expetendarum, et fugiendarum*, p. 800. The title is—*Stephani Gardineri Episcopi Winton. de verâ Obedientiâ, oratio. Una cum prefatione Emundi Bonneri, Archidiacon. Leicestr., &c., &c., &c.*

† Vol. v., p. 75; and Vol. ii., p. 281.—Ed. 1684.

condemns the Pope because he made laws for the Church, in the name of the Catholic Church.* Now it is evident, that if a Bishop or a Clergyman endeavour to persuade persons to embrace any doctrine, it is his duty to propound that doctrine in the name of the Church—not of his own Church only, but of the Catholic Church. The Ultra-Protestants quote Scripture only. They then refer to the decisions of their own Church ; and they confirm those decisions by appealing, if they can do so, to primitive tradition and antiquity. But this is to change the order of things. The Scriptures, my brethren and I believe, are to be received on the authority of the Church. We cannot, therefore, place them before the Church. We must place the Church first, and that Church must be the Catholic Church. We are anxious to teach the people, by appealing to the Catholic Church ; and not, as the Ultra-Protestants, to the Scripture alone. We always teach our own conclusions in the name of the Catholic Church ; and we are always pleased, therefore, when we see a Clergyman who may be summoned by virtue of his office to preach before the Queen, take for his text, “ *Hear the Church.*” We are pleased to see him select these words from the middle of a sentence, and to baffle the Ultra-Pro-

* Multa in divinæ Majestatis offensam et contumeliam statuere quod ipsum, olim sub titulo Ecclesiæ Catholicæ, ac Apostolorum Pauli et Petri auctoritate, interim etiam dum Lupus rapax ovis vestimento palliatus servus servorum se appellabat, magno Reipublicæ et Christianæ damno fuisse constat.

testants by the mere fact of quoting Scripture in such manner, that they must confess that the Church must be heard as well as the Scriptures themselves. My beloved friend, Dr. Hook, did this. By the Church he meant both the Catholic Church and the Church of England, of which the Queen was the chief lay member. When the Queen asked some of her attendants, who were attached to the Romish Church, what Church she was to hear, the reply was, "the Catholic Church." This naturally set the Royal mind enquiring. When Her Majesty found that the Church of Rome was called by them the Catholic Church, Her Majesty at first inferred that the Preacher might be speaking exclusively of the Church of Rome. The royal mind on further enquiry learned from other attendants, that the Church of England was also called the Catholic Church, and that this Church was probably meant by the sagacious, sensible, and loyal Preacher. Her Majesty being thus directed to the two Churches, was naturally for one moment undecided how she was to listen to the Church. The consequences might have been fatal to the Crown, if one of the Ultra-Protestant attendants had not invited Her Majesty to consider the foundations on which the two equally called Catholic Churches rested. When Her Majesty perceived that the Church of Rome rested on its own authority—and that the Church of England rested on the authority of the Holy Scriptures, the Crown of England was safe. But this

matter must not rest here. I and my friends must make it more safe. We propose to teach that the Church must be heard, but that its claims shall not rest on the Scriptures alone, but on the same basis also as that of its rival, namely, its own authority. When the Church shall thus be the guide to the Prince and people, we shall be able to preach, and to teach all that we believe the Catholic Church taught; and we will strengthen the Crown of England, by persuading the family, who now rule us, to become converted, to the antient faith, which our unwise ancestors rejected. We will then persuade the Sardinian branch to give up their own claims, which they rest on the plea of legitimacy; and we will acknowledge the Queen to be the Nursing Mother of the true Catholic Church. These are glorious prospects. The "Sin of 1688" can only be done away, by changes decisive, and extensive as these. If we succeed in our plans and govern the minds of our countrymen, as they were formerly governed in the name of the Church, and not in the name of the Scriptures, (which the Ultra-Protestants and the House of Hanover itself, now profess to deem the foundation, on which all ought to govern), we may hope to effect these and still greater changes—

"Visions of glory, spare my aching sight."

1538. The time had now arrived when this great opponent of Ultra-Protestantism was to be raised to the highest office in the Catholic Church. In the year 1538, when he was Ambassador in France,

but from which embassy he was recalled in this year, Bonner was nominated to the vacant See of Hereford. The Bishop whom Bonner was appointed to succeed was Foxe, a name always unpleasant to a true Catholic ear. This man was said to have been one of the best divines of the age. He had been sent as Ambassador, with Gardiner, to Rome, to obtain a Bull for the divorce of Henry from his Queen. He was then under the protection of Wolsey, and was zealous for the antient system. Like too many, however, of his contemporaries, he permitted himself to be influenced by very Ultra-Protestant opinions. For in the year 1535, soon after his consecration to Hereford, he was appointed to the embassy at Smalcald; and though he there rightly advised the assembled Protestant Princes, to unite in doctrine with the Anglican Church; he became so deeply infected with the principles of the German Reformers that his name was identified with that of the apostate Dominican Martin Bucer, whom my friend Froude so deeply despised.* Bucer was the adviser of the Reformers of our still-to-be valued, though defective Liturgy, in the reign of Edward VI. He persuaded them, as my Church-renovating friend Dr. Pusey has shewn, to omit from the Prayer Book, in the form of Baptism, the exorcising of the Devil out of the body of the infant,† the giving the white vest-

* Froude's Remains, vol. 1., p. 394.

† See Dr. Pusey's views of Holy Baptism, Tract 67, and

ment to the child, and other very expressive ceremonies. So much indignation was felt against this German Ultra-Protestant, when the "*providential check*" was given to the Reformation in the reign of Mary,* that our Oxford predecessors exhumed his unworthy body and burned it: and though his monument was restored by Elizabeth, I, for one, am willing, with unavailing sighs to sanction the decision of the Oxford theologians; rather than that of the wollenlinsey Queen. Foxe, Bishop of Hereford, as early as the year 1538, approved of the opinions of this wretched Bucer, and actually consented to accept from Bucer the dedication of his Commentaries on the Gospel.† The death of such a man was no loss to the Church. He died on the 8th of May, 1538, and Bonner was nominated his successor, and was re-

Tables of Forms of Baptism at the end, p. 265–267, &c. I recommend this invaluable Tract to all who desire religious comfort. My friend proves to them that if they do not sin after Baptism, Baptism will save them. If they do, though repentance is an imperfect sort of renewal, there can be no complete renewal after Baptism, p. 51.—A doctrine which gives at once, a warning against wickedness, and perfect confidence in the efficacy of Baptism.

* British Critic, No. 59, p. 5.

† What could have induced Godwin, an author whom we are accustomed to value for his love of Episcopacy and the Church, to say, that Martin Bucer honored Foxe, by writing this dedication. Quare, he says, Martinus Bucerus Commentarii sui in Evangelia dedicatione ipsum honoravit—as if a foreign intruder could honor an English Bishop.—*Godwin de Præsulibus, folio, p. 494.*

called from France in the same year. The royal assent was given to his election, on the 27th of November, and the temporalities were restored in the usual forms, on the 4th of March, 1539. It so happened, however, that Stokesley, the vigilant Bishop of London, died on the 8th of September, 1539, and Bonner, before he had been consecrated to Hereford, was elected Bishop of London, on the 20th of October of that year. He was confirmed on the 14th of November, and took out a Commission from the King for the exercise of his ecclesiastical jurisdiction on the Christmas immediately after. He was consecrated in his own Cathedral on the 4th of April, 1540, and enthroned on the 16th of the same month.

I give this detail, that I may take the opportunity of defending the memory of Bonner from the misrepresentations by the Ultra-Protestants of two circumstances, the first relating to his Bishopric of Hereford ; the second, to his receiving his Episcopal Commission from the King. And I am anxious to vindicate the Bishop from the charges to which I am alluding, because all who are "*well disposed, and right-minded, will honor Bishops—for their office sake, because they stand in the place of the Apostles—and this is Faith—to be as sure, that the Bishop is Christ's appointed representative, as if we actually saw him work miracles, as did St. Peter and St. Paul.*"* When Bonner, therefore, inflict-

* Tracts, No. 10, p. 4.

ed those severities which he believed to be alike defensible from antiquity and tradition, he must be considered as Christ's representative. He stood in the place of the Apostles to his brethren of the Church, as soon as the King's Commission was granted to him to exercise in the Anglican Church the office of Bishop—and there ought to have been no more opposition to Bishop Bonner than there ought to have been to St. Peter and St. Paul, when the early converts saw the Apostles work miracles with their own eyes. Private judgment against miracles would not have been permitted by the Primitive Church; and the same private judgment is bound to defer to a Bishop, as a Bishop, because he is a Bishop, because miracles were worked formerly, even though they are discontinued at present. This is Faith, as my Oxford brother declares; and Bonner was the representative of Christ.

It is said then, that Bonner, before his nomination to the See of Hereford, dissembled with Cranmer and the influential advisers of the King, by appearing to be attached to the changes, in progress, for the sake of preferment. The last Bishop of Hereford, we have seen, favoured the innovations proposed by the German reformers, and wished therefore to establish in England the non-celibacy of the Clergy, communion in both kinds, and public prayers in the language of the people; and union between the Germans and the English was desired on these foundations. The death of Bishop Foxe put an end to this

design : and Burnet* assures us that the Reformers imagined the place of Foxe to be well supplied, when Bonner was named as his successor. In reply to this insinuation I observe, that we no have documents remaining, to enable us to judge of Bonner's motives. Neither do we possess any proofs of the extent of the conclusions to which he had arrived. The minds even of the representatives of the Apostles themselves might be said to be in a transition state, from the principles recognised as legal at the commencement of the reign of Henry, to the establishment of those, which were recognized at the accession of Elizabeth. Good men desire not only to obey the laws, but to approve of them ; and all that can be affirmed of Bonner at this time is that he obeyed the changes already made. We cannot be certain whether he approved or disapproved of them. Much less, therefore, can we affirm that he was guilty of inconsistency in wishing any further changes. I am disposed to infer from the silence of the historians of the day, on his approbation, or his disapprobation, of the conduct of Cranmer, towards the See of Hereford, that he maintained only the cautious and prudential silence, which gave him more time for deliberation, as to all the changes which were being daily suggested. Cranmer published injunctions to the See of Hereford, commanding the clergy to comply with all the King's previous injunctions—to obtain

* Reform. B. III., p. 255, folio edit.

copies of the Bible for themselves—to study a chapter every day—to compare the English and the Latin together—to encourage men to read it, but for improvement, and not in the spirit of presumption—to teach the people both in preaching and in confession, to do the works commanded by God only—to suffer none to serve in the Churches unless they were licensed—to require from all communicants the knowledge of the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Commandments, and to charge the people against all immorality.* Such were the injunctions of Cranmer. It is evident that they formed but another link in the chain of our national descent. They encouraged too much the right of private judgment, in permitting the clergy, who ought to have been contented with the "*unanimous consent of the Fathers*," and the teaching of the Church, to compare the Latin with the English for themselves: and in allowing also the laity to read the Bible to obtain therefrom "*the reformation of their own lives and a knowledge of their duty*," instead of directing them in all cases to their own clergymen. The Bible is full of Ultra-Protestant assertions. It is quoted by the Ultra-Protestants as if it was written for their use alone; and if the old systematists do not put down the Bible, the Bible will certainly put down them. This is the real battle: and we, the Tractarian British Critics and our friends, may dis-

* Burnett Collection, vol. iii., No. xii., p. 182.

guise it from ourselves as we may, but I am compelled, in common candor to affirm, that St. Paul was and is the chief of the Ultra-Protestants. To use the expression of dear, good, old Bishop Nix, when he read St. Paul's Epistles for the first time,—“I do not know who this Paul was, but of this I am certain, that his writings smell of the faggot;” and Bishop Nix was one of “the representatives of Christ,” whose words were to be received with as much reverence as those of St. Paul himself, “*as a Bishop, because he was a Bishop.*” Bonner had nothing to do with these injunctions of Cranmer.

The next objection that has been brought against my favorite Bishop, is derived from the circumstance of his taking out the commission to execute the office of Bishop, from the King, his temporal ruler.

I shall, I hope, be able to explain this matter to the perfect vindication of Bonner.

In consequence of the rejection of the Papal Supremacy by Henry, and the assumption of ecclesiastical as well as civil authority by the temporal ruler, all persons saw that this great change must unavoidably lead to many indefinite and undefined alterations. Two parties divided the nation then, as at present. One party desired the separation from Rome to be as little as possible: the other was indifferent to the subject. One regarded Rome, with all its faults, to be, as another friend calls it, the “*soother of the heart,*” the “*Saviour's holy home,*”—the Mother of the Church of England,

(though perhaps sometimes a severe one). The others considered Rome as the antichrist, the great harlot, the scarlet whore, drunk, and reeling with the blood of the Saints of God. One thought—the further from Rome, the nearer to God. The other thought—the further from Rome, the further from God. Besides these two parties, was that which was gradually being formed by the refugees from the conclusions of Rome, and the refugees from the conclusions of those who cared only to proceed to the opposite extreme from Rome—the party which has existed, and will exist, and which will ever be influential in this country—the party which was resolved to endeavor to establish truth at all hazards, and was willing to take that truth from all quarters. To these persons the Bible presented a foundation ; and the primitive Churches presented a commentary on that Bible, partly to be preserved, and partly to be rejected. Antiquity presented to them the choice of discipline and opinions. Tradition connected that antiquity with Scripture, and reason compared the decisions of that antiquity, with the decisions of modern controversialists. From all sources, from all quarters this party was willing to elicit, and to establish, truth. They studied Revelation—they aspired to usefulness—they abhorred and loved Rome—they abhorred and loved Geneva—with equal affection and equal indifference : and this party, though my brethren of Oxford believe that it has adopted many questionable propositions, has been the party which

eventually enacted, established, continued, and preserved the Anglican Church and State. I am only anxious to see its errors removed, and its defects remedied: and this must be by avoiding Ultra-Protestantism, and reconsidering the best mode in which we may induce Rome to come over to England, because, "*till Rome move towards us, it is quite impossible that we should move towards Rome.*"* Such were the three parties which divided and harassed the country in the reign of Henry. Two things, then, are to be considered—the first is, that the King now bore two titles, of each of which he was equally proud, and both of which he was no less zealous to defend. He was the supreme Head of the Church, and the Defender of the Faith. In the former capacity he defied the Pope. In the latter, he burnt heretics, and pronounced the Six Articles to be law, that both Papists and Protestants might suffer with equal impartiality. The second is, that whatever were the differences of opinion among these three great classes, one truth must have impressed them above all others; namely, that the favor of the King was essential to the success of the opinions, in which they deemed the good of man, and the honor of God, to be alike involved. Cranmer had been elected Archbishop of Canterbury, in the an-

* Tract 75, p. 23. One of my Ultra-Protestant brethren tells me that we are going towards Rome, but he is mistaken, we are only going back to antiquity and tradition, and if Rome lies in our way—we cannot help finding it.

tient manner, but he took the accustomed oaths to the Pope, under a solemn protest reserving all his allegiance to the King. Since that time the Papal supremacy had been still more vigorously and successfully assailed. Cranmer, it was thought, maintained his favor with the King at this time by upholding the proposition that all ecclesiastical officers were as much subject to the King's power as all other civil officers were ;* but even Cranmer had not sued out his episcopal commission from the temporal authority : and Bonner being anxious to prevent any further declination of the Church from Rome, or being anxious perhaps to induce the King to follow the conclusions to which he had himself arrived, and not those of the Archbishop ; resolved to go further than Cranmer in apparent subserviency to the King, that by such submission he might do the greater good by suspending the progress of the continued change. In this manner he imagined he could supersede, for the promotion of the general benefit, the interest of Cranmer at Court. His object was no doubt laudable, and I therefore trust that those antagonists who condemn our Bishops at this very day,† for deriving from the throne their authority over the dioceses to which they are elected by their Chapters, will remember that Bonner was the first Bishop in England, who requested a commission from the Throne

* Burnett, vol. 1, B. III., p. 267, Ann. 1539.

† See Milner's and Challoner's remarks on the appointment of our Bishops by the Throne.

to sanction the choice of the clergy, who had elected him in their Chapter. They will remember that this example of the illustrious Bonner was not only the first, but that it was also peculiar to himself in the very year in which the commission was issued. Six Bishops were consecrated to various Sees in the year 1539,—John Salcot *alias* Capon, succeeded the faint-hearted Nicholas Shaxton, on the 14th August, in that year, at Salisbury; Bell succeeded Latimer at Worcester, on the 11th of the same month; John Skip succeeded Bonner at Hereford; Nicholas Heath was consecrated on the 4th of April, at Rochester; John Bird was translated from Ossory on the 3rd of September; and Bonner in the same year was transferred to London. Bonner alone took out a peculiar commission from the King, and strengthened the Royal power as one of the King's Bishops, more effectually to promote the Catholic-Church cause. This view of the subject is justified by the wording of the commission itself.* The substance of it was, that “since all jurisdiction, both ecclesiastical and civil,† flowed from the King, as supreme Head, and he was the foundation of all power; it became those who exercised it only (*precario*) at the King's courtesy, gratefully to acknowledge that they had it only of his bounty; and to declare that they would de-

* See the original in the Collection of Records, by Burnett, Vol. 1, B. III., Record XIX. *Licentia regia concessa Domino Episcopo ad exercendam jurisdictionem Episcopalem.*

† Burnett, Vol. 1, p. 261.

liver it up again when it should please him to call for it. And since the King had constituted Lord Cromwell his Vice-gerent in ecclesiastical affairs, yet because he could not look into all those matters, therefore the King, upon Bonner's petition, did empower him, in his own stead, to ordain such as he found worthy, to present and give institution, with all the other points of episcopal authority, for which he is duly commissioned : and this to last during the King's pleasure only. And all the parts of the episcopal function being reckoned up, it concluded with a strict charge to the Bishop to ordain none but such of whose integrity, good life, and learning, he had very good assurance. For as the corruptions of the Christian doctrine, and of men's manners, had chiefly proceeded from ill Pastors, so it was not to be doubted but good Pastors, well chosen, would again reform the Christian doctrine, and the lives of Christians."—It will be observed that Bonner, being still as we may believe, as much attached to the Church of Rome, as the law of the land permitted him to be, says nothing whatever against the Pope. Dispensations were granted from the Holy See, in the reign of Elizabeth, to the English subjects to appear to be obedient to the Queen, till the proper opportunity arrived for their avowing themselves unattached to her Government. It is not impossible that Bonner might have reconciled himself to his double duty to the Church and to the King in the same manner. Gardiner was reported to have been

privately reconciled to Rome at the time. We cannot now tell whether Bonner had returned in the same manner to that great "*soother of the heart*," the "*Saviour's holy home*." Such reconciliation, sanctioning an apparent allegiance only, is not approved among the Ultra-Protestants, neither am I at present prepared to defend it. *Some of my Oxford brethren have been supposed now to be thus privately reconciled to the Bishop of Rome*; and to be permitted by him to profess attachment to Anglicanism, provided they assail Ultra-Protestantism, and exert themselves to introduce as many of the exploded and obsolete observances of antiquity, which England has rejected and Rome retained, as they conveniently can, or dare do. We certainly cannot "*unprotestantize*" the nation at once. It must be done gradually; and when we have once generally revived among us, the changes they have lately recommended, we may hope to go further. I agree with Father Parsons,* that it is much to be lamented that the perfect Reformation of England was not made during the providential check in Queen Mary's reign; and I am sure, and I will prove my words to be true, that the proceedings of my present friends, to bring back England to Rome, are precisely those which Father Parsons approved.† There is

* The Jesuits' Memorial for the Reformation of England, originally written by Father Parsons, and presented to James II. London, 1690, 8vo., p. 2.

† See Section the third. *Infra*.

indeed a wonderful agreement between their actions and his project. I cannot be certain that any of my friends are privately reconciled to Rome, and are pledged to endeavor to bring us back to the Roman communion. I would rather be silent on such a point. They speak more severely against Rome than I think any dispensation would permit: and yet they recommend those very changes which Rome would most cordially approve, as the commencement of our restoration. They recommend also the very same proceedings which are proposed by Father Parsons. I am not myself yet privately reconciled, and I am so intimate with my brethren at Oxford, that I must believe they would have communicated the secret to me, if they had returned to Rome. I cannot, therefore, believe the report in question; and I trust the candid reader, also, will suspend his judgment, till he has obtained more satisfactory information on this subject.

1540. We are now to consider the conduct of Bonner when he sat as "*our Saviour's representative*" in the See of London. Having been enthroned as the chief Pastor of that important See on the 16th of April, 1540, he probably attended the Parliament which assembled on the 28th. Three months after that day, the six victims to the Act of the Six Articles were burnt together, with political impartiality. The Reformation and the old system might now be said to be open questions, and the glorious policy of settling the questions which divide the people, by

this laudable indecision on the part of the temporal government is one of the chief hopes of my friends, that we may be able to effect great changes in the Established Religion. The power which could overthrow the old Constitution in 1829, in obtaining the admission of our Roman brethren into the Senate, by so acting on the hopes and fears of our statesmen, that this proposed policy was pronounced to be an open question, can proceed still further. It has only to persevere till it make the remaining points which divide us, open questions. At this time the King's Council consisted of eight Protestants and nine Romanists—the consequence was, that one party in the Council demanded the execution of three Papal heretics, and the other of three Protestant heretics (for all were heretics who objected to the opinions in religion which the King had established by law), and the six victims were offered up with an impartiality particularly creditable to each division of the Cabinet. I hope to see the day when the Council shall be again divided, and more open questions declared in matters of religion. Neither I nor my friends wish to present more holocausts to Smithfield; for we must not hope *at present* to destroy that false liberality which, under the name of toleration, preserves alike both the public peace and atrocious error: but every country is governed by the active minority: and if we can succeed in causing a divided Council to submit to the Sovereign, for the sake of unity, the changes which we desire, the system we

admire may still progress peacefully and gradually, till we complete our favourite project of *unprotestantizing*, that is of *Romanizing*, and at length *Bonnerizing* England.

One good effect of the Six Articles on the mind of the Bishop of London seems to have been, that they completely suspended the apparent wavering which had formerly characterized him. A remarkable instance of this firmness appeared in the case of Cromwell. Among other allegations against the Earl of Essex, he was accused of being a "fautor, maintainer" and "supporter of heretics," and "of being a detestable heretic," and that "though he was told that a part of the Bible had been so translated, that the version seemed to speak against the Sacrament of the Altar, yet he declared the translation to be correct."* Many other crimes equally indefensible were also urged against him ; and it is evident that a Bishop so orthodox as Bonner, could not have approved such heresies ; and could not consequently, any longer, either from gratitude or friendship, hold communion with an attainted heretic and traitor. To this holy source of indignation, and not to unkindness, as the Ultra-Protestant John Foxe imputes Bonner's conduct, I refer the Bishop's change of opinion and demeanour towards Cromwell.

* See the attainder of Cromwell in the Collection of Records, by Burnett, Refor., Vol. III.— Page of Records, 187, &c., &c.

He only acted in conformity with the old canon law, which forbade compassion to heretics. He began at this time the course of conduct which he pursued with so much openness, firmness, and consistency, to the end of the reign of Mary, when his power was taken away from him. He shewed his inveteracy against heretics immediately that Cromwell was so attainted. Like another of my dear friends, Mr Newman, he deemed that the publisher of innovations in religion should "meet with no mercy—he must be dealt with as an embodied evil."* So Bonner thought of Cromwell, and so Bonner acted towards his former benefactor, friend, and patron—for the next day after that on which Cromwell was apprehended, a common friend of both Cromwell and Bonner met the Bishop and told him "he was sorry "to hear of the news that was abroad of the apprehension of Cromwell. Are you sorry for that? "said *our Saviour's representative*. It had been "good that he had been despatched long ago." The merit of this early denunciation of all heretics, whatever may have been his private motives for loving them, appears to have been very great in the present instance: for Cromwell was beheaded on Tower Hill, on the 28th of July, three months after Bonner by Cromwell's influence had been enthroned Bishop of London. Such virtue is peculiarly *Roman*.

* See Newman's *Arians*, p. 253; and reply to Mr Townsend's unjust attack on my beloved friend, *Brit. Crit.*, No. 50, p. 407.

One great disadvantage under which I and my brother Tractarians, who wish to restore a better state of religion in England, are labouring, is the difficulty of settling among ourselves where we are to stop. While some of our number, for instance, are willing to give the title of "*Blessed Saint of the most High*" to those distinguished defenders of the Church, Hildebrand and Thomas Beckett: others would be disinclined to replace their names in the calendar. Some would restore the law of the celibacy of the Clergy. They sigh for that salutary discipline. Some would revive Monachism, as the antidote to dissent. I shall not at present give any opinion on these points. They are certainly attended with many difficulties. I only mention them now to explain the conduct of our celebrated Prelate, in those acts of his distinguished career which have obtained most censure from the bigoted Ultra-Protestants, and which have procured for Bonner, even from those who affect to be most moderate, the title of the "Bloody Bonner."* We must remember that though we are accustomed to speak in general terms of the Reformation, yet that there was in reality no such thing. A certain mode or form of Christianity was found to be established in England in the reign of Henry the VIII. ; and another mode or form of Christianity was established in England in the reign of Elizabeth.

* Even Godwin, from whom better things might have been expected, calls this good though severe Prelate—*Martyromastix ille truculentus*—p. 190. fol. ed.

The interval of time between the two was marked by a certain number of changes in the public law ; and the whole result of those changes is called by a strange misnomer, the Reformation. In the prosecution of these changes, the adherents of the old system were at a loss when to stop ; but the chief resting place, which these birds, whether ravens, as the Ultra-Protestants would call them, or doves, as Bonner and our dear brethren of Rome would call them, found for the soles of their feet, was the act of the Six Articles. The supremacy had been removed. The monasteries had been destroyed. The people were commanded to know the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, and other things which were supposed to appertain to the soul's health ; but lights on the Altars, candles before the Cross, the permission though not the encouragement to call on the Saints, prayers for the dead, prayers to the Virgin, and above all these, by the act of the Six Articles, Transubstantiation, the celibacy of the clergy, communion in one kind, vows of monks and nuns, private masses, and auricular confession, were still happily retained. Many who had complied with the former changes were unwilling to proceed further. They thought the nation had gone far enough from Rome. Others were desirous that even all these things should be removed, and we know that they were removed before the changes under Edward and Elizabeth were completed. *Now, as our ancestors accomplished their work of change thus slowly,*

and gradually, by accustoming the minds of the people, day after day, and year after year, to their strange innovations ; so do we Tractarian British Critics propose to act. We begin by attacking certain points of the completed change, as we find it perfected by Elizabeth ; and we hope to go back, removing one point after another, till at length we arrive at a more antient resting place. As some of our ancestors stopped at Cranmer's injunctions, others at Cromwell's, others at the Six Articles, others at King Edward's first Prayer Book, others at King Edward's second Prayer Book, and others at Elizabeth's ; so do we begin by projecting changes, which shall restore to us prayers for the dead, greater honor to the Saints, the belief in a very different presence of Christ at the Altar than we now acknowledge, and the removal of that wretched, miserable, creeping, despicable, attachment to preaching, and to the Bible alone, as the religion of Protestants. When we have obliterated the peculiar attachment of the people to these things, then we shall go back further, if we shall gradually agree among ourselves where our resting place shall be. For my own part, I agree at present with my venerated Bishop Bonner. I shall not consent, till my knowledge on the subject is increased, to advocate the entire restoration of the Papal Supremacy, nor the total removal of the Bible from our Churches, and our services. I shall at present with Bonner, and with so many of my brethren, rest the sole of my

foot on the act of the Six Articles. That is a fixed and definite stage in the changes of religion. There Bonner rested. There will I at present rest. Bonner was unwilling to proceed further on. I am unwilling to proceed further back. I hope that our mutual agreement on this point, will serve as a reply to those who think that, because we wish to change many things, we have no definite point towards which we steer. Let us but get the Church and nation back to the Six Articles, and we shall have made that change which shall suffice for one generation. The generation which follows us may go further, till Rome receives them once more into her maternal bosom.

These reflections bring us to the defence of those actions of Bonner for which he has been so vilely stigmatized by Ultra-Protestants, as the "base, bloody, and brutal Bonner."

After the death of Cromwell, and exactly four months after the order of Jesuits was established by Loyola,* Bonner received the commission to try the heretics in the City of London, who refused obedience to the act of the Six Articles. I mention the name of Ignatius Loyola in this place, because it reminds me of the exceeding inconsistency and folly of the Ultra-Protestants. Nothing satisfies them.

* The date of the Bull of Pope Paul the Third for the establishment of the Jesuits is the 27th of September, 1540. The date of Bonner's commission to try heretics under the Six Articles was the 27th of January, 1541.

The Jesuits, they accuse of craft. Bonner, they charge with cruelty. The former uses persuasiveness. The latter, in the enforcement of his duty, used severity. Obedience to the Church must be effected by the one or the other, and the Church generally adopts both. But I must proceed.

1541. In the execution of the trust committed to him by his most gracious master Henry VIII., Bonner took his place as commissioner, in Guildhall, to try heretics who opposed the decisions of the King and of the Bishops, in the matter of the Six Articles. Zealous, ardent, loyal, and energetic, he opened the commission, after the juries were sworn, by charging them to spare no persons of what degree soever. He was desirous to suppress the dreadful crime of schism; and to prevent any further opposition to the decisions of the Church. In consequence of his episcopal vigilance, the prisons were soon filled with many hundreds of the Ultra-Protestants. The King, although he was not easily moved from his purpose, seems to have been alarmed at the execution of his own laws: and with ill-timed lenity, (for his first prisoners ought to have been punished,) they were all discharged by orders from the King, issued from the Star Chamber.* Neither were the juries more willing to return verdicts of guilty, than the King to punish the criminals. The holy anxiety of Bonner, whose wish to uphold the ecclesiastical and legal

* Burnet, vol. I., page 299, B. III., and Foxe V., 405.

authority of the Church, and of the Bishops, was as great as that of Hildebrand and Becket, Saints similar to himself, induced him to persevere, and to remonstrate with the juries upon their unreasonable lenity. He thus induced them to rescind their verdicts, and to find some Ultra-Protestants guilty whom they had acquitted. One particular instance of this laudable anxiety occurred, which procured for the Bishop much odium : and as it took place at the commencement of his episcopal career, we shall do well perhaps to consider it with some attention.

A young delinquent only fifteen years of age had spoken against the corporal presence in the Sacrament. The jury hesitated to declare him guilty. Bonner, in the discharge of his duty, informed them that they were in error. They still hesitated. Then it was—

“How my heart trembles, while my pen relates”

the Foxe-related fact,* that “*our Saviour’s representative*,” Bonner, imitating in this respect the example of Peter, rather than of Peter’s master, cursed and swore, and exclaimed “in an agony,” (to use Foxe’s words) against the jury. I will not transcribe the whole scene. Bonner did not, I can only say, act like any modern Bishop. I do not remember that any Ultra-Protestant Bishop has so acted : and I assure my readers, much as I honor, and defend Bishops, I am not prepared to defend

* Foxe V., 441.

that peculiar mode in which this zealous "*representative of our Saviour*" expressed his anger, when he cursed and swore at the jury. I deem this to be wrong, very wrong, even though Bonner was a Bishop. However it may grieve me to speak harshly of this upholder of the "*soother of the heart*," the "*Saviour's holy home*," I am required to say, and that seriously, that I do think it wrong in a Bishop to curse and swear at a jury; but I am no less bound, while I do so, to say that Burnet (he too was a Bishop, though I meet with no author who calls him "*our Saviour's representative*"), is quite unjust to the memory of Bonner, when he joins with the Ultra-Protestant John Foxe, in too severely censuring Bonner for his conduct at this time to this miserable boy. "If," says Burnet, "the deeper stains of Bonner's following life had not dashed out all particular spots, his cruelty to Mekins had blemished him for ever."* The case was this: Mekins, the young delinquent of fifteen to whom I refer, had presumed to speak against the Sacrament of the Altar. In consequence of some discrepancy in the evidence and the assertion of one witness that he had called the Sacrament, a ceremony, and of another that he had called it, a signification, the jury refused to condemn him. The more vehement anger of Bonner at this decision—during which he so reprehensibly cursed and swore—at length induced them to

* Burnet, vol. 1, B. III., p. 299.

find a verdict against him. He was found guilty, and soon after burned for heresy : and for this Bonner has been called "bloody," savage, and cruel. Our defence of Bonner is summed up in one word. *Mekins was burnt as a warning to the young.* The zealous Bishop well knew the impossibility of reforming and changing the middle-aged and old. He was no less assured that if he would check the changes which were still desired, he must begin by reforming the young : and he therefore made Mekins one of the first examples, that the juvenile heretics of the day might be intimidated, and the rising generation be preserved from the contagion of heresy. Happy would it have been for many who were afterwards condemned, if they had learned from the punishment of Mekins to "hear the Church," rather than their heretical parents. Bonner was the Bishop of the Diocese. I shall shew when we consider the case of his whipping some persons in the orchard at Fulham, in the reign of Mary, that Bonner was justified in so doing by antiquity and tradition, and by the early laws of the pattern century of the Church. Whipping was preferable to burning. But it is in this, as in many other instances. The Ultra-Protestants judge from their feelings without any due regard to the precedents of the *canon law*, or the *ecclesiastical traditions of the Church*. The large list of persons presented to the Bishop for ecclesiastical offences at this time,* shews the un-

* See Foxe V., p. 443-451.

settled state of opinions both among old and young ; and confirms, therefore, this view of the absolute necessity of endeavouring to stop the further progress of change. If the young could have been now checked in their presumption, the Church would have been purified in one generation : after the aged and matured had been removed. Our brethren, therefore, who are attached to the old system, justly exert themselves at present to obtain the education of the young. The opinions which govern the children of one age, govern the opinions of the fathers and grandfathers of the next age, if they remain unchanged. He conquers the Church and government of a country, who wins and persuades, and so governs its youth.

Another offence is alleged against Bonner with no less injustice. The Bible had been ordered to be placed in the Churches. It was, however, to be read only as it is now read in the Lessons of the Morning and Evening Service. The injunctions which Bonner published on this subject* are so sensible, wise, and just, that the most decided Ultra-Protestant is compelled to admire them. It was ordered that no public exposition be made of the Bible—that no one should read aloud—nor draw multitudes together—nor make disputes in the Churches—but behave there quietly, soberly, and orderly, and read there for the edification of their own souls only.

* See the Records of Burnet, Vol. I., Book III., page of Records 251.

Surely these regulations deserve approbation. If every person who came to the Church to read the six Bibles, which Bonner put up in St. Paul's Church, had read aloud, and expounded what he read, openly and freely to the assembled people, it is evident that endless confusion would have ensued. It so happened that another presumptuous and ignorant young man, John Porter, having a loud and clear voice, was accustomed to read out to the people. The Bishop was told, also, that he made expositions on the text, and collecting great multitudes around him, caused much tumult. Bonner sent him to prison. Foxe relates that he was most cruelly tortured in the prison, being fettered in irons, both arms and legs, and fastened to the wall in his dungeon by a collar of iron. On being released at the interference of his friends from this punishment, and committed to that part of the prison where the common felons were confined, he reproved their blasphemous language, and was then consigned to the lowest part of the dungeon, where, within six or eight days, he was found dead. Such is the account of Foxe—and as the narrative was published by him to the contemporary survivors of the young man, I cannot contradict him, though I do not believe him. Yet Bonner is not to be blamed, even if the account be true, for the severity of the gaoler. The keepers of the prisons exercised a discretionary power over their prisoners. According to their ability of bribing, or according to the interference of their

friends, the prisoners were loaded with heavy chains, or confined with none at all. Bonner is only answerable, therefore, for the imprisonment itself : and there is no Ultra-Protestant who would deny that such confusion, as Porter appears to have occasioned, ought to have been prevented.

It is most gratifying to me, to be thus able to defend the Bishop from the malignity of John Foxe, and of his weak and unworthy admirers ; but I shall reserve my further consideration of the conduct of Bonner towards the Ultra-Protestants, who objected to the "*providential check*" by Queen Mary to the progress of the Reformers, till I survey the events of that most Anti-Protestant Queen. It must be sufficient at present to observe here, that we cannot rightly judge of the conduct of another, whether we approve or condemn it, unless we take into consideration the circumstances of the times, and the spirit of the age in which the objects of our praise or censure lived. At the very time in which Bonner condemned these young heretics, John Longlands, Bishop of Lincoln, burned two persons, one for teaching the Lord's Prayer in English : the other for keeping the Epistle of St. James translated into English.* I cannot but think that these two persons may be said to have committed minor delinquencies than either Mekins or Porter ; unless we suppose that their offence was refusing to "*hear the Church*,"

* Foxe, V., 454.

that is, to listen to their Bishop. In this case the crime with all four would have been equal. Bonner was the principal Bishop, on whom the whole duty rested of repressing the further progress of the schism. He confined his efforts to the removal of the greater crimes, the denial of the presence in the Sacrament, and the irregular reading of the Bible to the people. We do not read that he punished, as I am sure he ought to have done, many who were presented to him for lesser heresies. Some despised holy water—others dressed flesh meat in Lent—others altogether neglected confession. Even those offences were less than teaching the Lord's Prayer in English. Yet Longlands, who burned a man for this crime, is not censured; while Bonner, the unfortunate Bonner alone, is selected by the Martyrologist to be the object of the hatred of posterity, for a severity which was commanded by the law, sanctioned by the Church, and common to all our "*Saviour's representatives.*"

The punishment of Mekins took place in the year 1541. I am sure that the most vehement Ultra-Protestant will join with me, and with Bishop Burnet, in eulogizing Bonner's injunctions to his clergy, published in the year following. Their substance is given by Burnet. They were eighteen in number. So excellent were they, that the prejudiced Burnet (alas! that I should be obliged to speak thus of a Bishop) affirms it to be probable, that they were drawn up by another hand than Bonner's.

In these injunctions, the clergy are required to read a chapter in the Bible, with an approved commentary on it, every day, to teach the children of their parishioners to read English, that they might know how to believe, and pray, and live according to the will of God ; to preach no modern sermons, but explain the Epistle and Gospel of the day, according to the mind of some good Doctor allowed by the Church ; and so to preach, that prayer and good works be encouraged ; while none were to preach without a license from the Ordinary. Bishop Burnet* goes on to draw a very interesting contrast between the manner of preaching before the time of Bishop Bonner, and that which Bishop Bonner permitted. I and my friends, like all other Ultra-Protestants, deem preaching to be a very inferior means of grace. “ *We would not be thought entirely to deprecate preaching as a mode of doing good ; it may be even necessary in a weak and languishing state, but it is an instrument which Scripture, to say the least, has never much recommended.*”† And “ *it will be admitted,*” says Froude, “ *by every one, that to the attendance on sermons, as such, no promises are annexed in Scriptures.*”‡ And our friend Bishop Bonner, therefore, by thus encouraging preaching in his diocese, went much further than we think he ought to have done. I am unwilling, however,

* Refor. vol. 1, B. iii., p. 317.

† Tracts for the Times, No. 87, p. 95.

‡ Froude's Remains, vol. 1, part 2, p. 8.

to condemn him, though the Ultra-Protestant would approve of him. I love the path of moderation, whether I praise or censure.

Nothing is recorded of Bonner till the year 1544. In that year a letter was written by him to Dr. Parker, the Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, to request him to send up some of the best preachers from Cambridge, to take their turn at St. Paul's Cross. Bonner, says Strype, gave himself out, at this time, for a favorer of the gospel, and got his preferment by that means. It is certain that Bonner complied with the changes in religion proposed and carried by Henry VIII. : but none of these changes proceeded so far as the second service book of Edward VI. Strype probably means these latter changes by the word, "Gospel." If so—Bonner never was a favorer of Ultra-Protestantism, and cannot be condemned for inconsistency.*

I have contrasted the punishment of Mekins and Porter with those of the Ultra-Protestants who were burnt by Bishop Longlands, that I might more satisfactorily vindicate the conduct of Bonner in the case of Anne Ascue, in the year 1546. I pass by the very instructive pictures of the manners of the times contained in the King's Speech to his Parliament, in which he reproaches the Commons for their abuse of their privilege of reading the Bible, and for their

* See the letter of Bonner in Strype's Life of Parker, book 1, ch. 4, p. 17, folio edition. London, 1711.

calling each other heretic and papist. I pass by also the manner in which the King's power was extended, by the mutual fear which the two great parties in the state entertained for each other, as well as the modification of the severities of the Act of the Six Articles in 1545,† in all of which Bonner, as one of the King's chief counsellors, must have had a share. Foxe has made the conduct of Bonner in the case of Anne Ascue familiar to all. He has not, however, manifested the same historical impartiality as Burnet. A careful examination of the History will prove to us that Bonner was most anxious to save the life of this lady. No man commits cruel actions for mere amusement. To speak against the doctrine of transubstantiation was death. Anne, who was of a noble family, and had been much at court, was accused and imprisoned for many strange opinions, but chiefly for speaking against the corporal presence in the Sacrament at the altar. The Bishop endeavored to save her life, by inducing her to avail herself of the indulgence which now permitted recantation to atone for the offence. She refused to recant, unless the recantation was made in some form which

† 1. The chief of these accusations for heresy were to be tried by juries; 2. Within one year after the offence; 3. No imprisonment to be before indictment. This passed 1545. In the preceding year a law was passed permitting the accused to recant, and commanding their lives to be spared if they did so. See Mr Gladstone's Remarks on this Law, in his work—"The State in its relations to the Church."

the statute would not recognize. It was expressly provided that all recantations, to prevent the mental reservations which are implied in the use of general and discretionary terms, should be made in the express language required by the Ordinary. Bonner drew up a recantation, and asked the lady to agree to it. Her reply still was that she agreed to it, so far as the Holy Scripture warranted such agreement; and she begged that this sentiment might be added to the paper. Bonner, upon hearing this answer, might have remanded her to prison and have left her to her fate. Instead of so doing, he kindly replied, "You must not teach me what to write." He then went out, and read as her confession the recantation he had thus written. The persons who heard it, being attached to the old system, cried out that favor had been shewn to the prisoner. The Bishop would not deny that he wished to shew her favor; for he considered, as John Foxe reports the words, that "she had good friends, and came of a worshipful stock." He was even reproached by one of the bystanders for the partiality he thus expressed. He was told that he ought to have endeavoured to save her for God's sake rather than for man's. On placing the recantation for her signature before Anne Ascue, she added to it, according to her own account, a qualifying expression respecting the faith of the Catholic Church. This made Bonner very angry. Her relations, however, entreated him to be merciful; and made many apologies for her weakness and wil-

fulness. She was again committed to prison, and after the delay of a few days admitted to bail, and released. She was released contrary to the law by the Bishop, who incurred the responsibility of releasing her, in pity to her folly and in regard to her connexions and family.

I have entered into this detail that I may more fully enable the admirers of Bonner (who I have no doubt will be numerous, after this defence of his principles and conduct) to understand one of the probable causes of his unavoidably greater severity in the reign of Mary. Anne Ascue had married Mr Kyme, a zealous adherent of the unchanged religion, or, as Burnet calls him, "a violent Papist."* In consequence of her embracing the opinions of the so-called Reformers, her husband commanded her to leave his house. The subsequent transactions, in which Bonner took no part—her apprehension after he had released her, the attempt of the Lord Chancellor to extort from her some confessions which should implicate the Ladies of the Court—the offence she gave by her severe retorts, and too great forwardness,† all prove, that if Bonner had visited Anne Ascue with the strict severity of the law and condemned her to be burnt—if he had thus anticipated the sentence of the Council, and of the Chancellor, (who commanded her to be racked in the

* Burnet, Reformation, vol. 1, B. III., page 341.

† By some she was thought too forward.—Burnet, Vol. I., B. III., p. 341.

Tower, and then sent her in a chair to Smithfield, because she was unable to walk), he would have pleased his own calumniated friends, and avoided much (unrecorded, but probable) censure. He learned a lesson from the uselessness of shewing mercy in this instance, which made him hesitate to release other prisoners in the reign of Mary. He then executed the laws with more even-handed justice, because he saw in the case of Anne Ascue, that those who refuse obedience to the Church because they form their conclusions from the Scriptures, as Anne Ascue professed to do—and those who qualify the decisions of the Church by any reservations of their own—will not more certainly change those opinions because of the courtesy, or the mercy, of a Bishop; than they would change them, because of his justice or severity. He therefore proceeded to assist in the “*providential check*”* which the Reformation sustained in the reign of Mary, without fear and without reluctance. The contempt which I and my brethren entertain for John Foxe, prevents me from discussing the question whether he is right or wrong in affirming that Bonner’s register of the recantation of Anne Ascue is incorrect. That wretched Ultra-Protestant who has done so much harm to our sacred cause, that we all loathe and abhor him—

“ May he be

“ Shunned like infection, loathed like infamy.”†

* British Critic, No. 59, p. 5.

† Oldham.

professes to believe the statement of Anne Ascue, rather than the registry of a Bishop. I believe the Bishop "*as a Bishop, because he is a Bishop.*"

This quotation, one of my brother Tractarian's favourite phrases, reminds me that Bishop Shaxton, who preached the funeral sermon over the body of Anne Ascue immediately before she was burnt, had once wavered on the decisions of the Church. He had, however, recanted, and he proved the sincerity of his faith by his sermon at her death. I find in the collection of records given by Burnet from the registry of London, the Articles of Shaxton's Retracting. His manner of expressing his belief in Transubstantiation is so reasonable, that I commend it, as a more explicit mode of stating that belief, than that even of my friend Mr. Newman. "*We have lost the treasure of the Romish breviary through inadvertence.*"* When we have proceeded further to recover that, and some other antient ecclesiastical treasures, the recantation of Bishop Shaxton will offer a good precedent, for the form we may require our converts to sign:—

1. The bread and wine are turned at the mass, into the natural body and blood, so that after the words of consecration pronounced by the priest, there remaineth no substance of bread and wine, but only the substance of Christ, God and man.

2. This remaineth that very body and blood—though it be not distributed.

* Tract 75.

3. Therefore it is to be worshipped because Deity is united to the body.

4. The Church offers, daily, as a sacrifice the self same body ;

5. Which is the very propitiation and satisfaction for sin ;

6. And may be made available and profitable to what extent we know not, both for the living and the dead ;

7. And may be administered under one kind,

8. And received by the priest alone.

9. And the Church of England holds this doctrine of the mass rightly.

10. And that Church may order its priests to be ministers of the mass, and not preachers ;

11. And these priests may not marry,

12. But must retain auricular confession.

These articles may be usefully remembered when our plans of setting "*the broken limb*" of the Reformation are more complete. They preceded the definitions of Trent : and they do not squeamishly mince the doctrine of Transubstantiation, as so many even of my best friends do. Why should I shrink, as Mr. Froude says, "*from making the body and blood of Christ*" ? He can have but one body, and that body was on the Cross ; and we believe it is in the Sacrament of the Altar. Why, why I again say, should we shrink from our principles ?

Bonner this year published a mandate to his clergy, commanding certain prayers to be used in his diocese,

in our own language. I am not yet prepared to say that this was wrong, but the use of prayers in Latin is attended with many advantages. He set us also this year a good example in attempting to restrain the licentiousness of the press. The press in the present day has so far superseded both the priest and the pulpit, that the people will learn from books more than from either of these instructors, and they will judge of the lessons they learn, by the pages they read. We cannot hope, therefore, to restore our antient influence, unless we can follow the example of Bonner, Laud, and other vigilant rulers; and restrain the press in all matters relating to the Church, its doctrines, discipline, and teaching. I almost should despair of seeing this measure effected, if I did not know that the fettering of the press must be the result of the establishment of my principles. Our great difficulty will be to convince the people, who now rule the Church and the Sovereign, that this proceeding would benefit them. Great, indeed, is the task before us, and great must be the meekness we assume, and the patience with which we endure. As the age, however, will not bear the recommending the imitation of Bonner's example in this respect, I shall make no observations on the list of books which were now prohibited. I only wish I could suspend the publication and punish the authors of those books which, like those prohibited by Bonner, still dare to affirm that Rome is Anti-Christ. I am acting very strenuously, in conjunc-

tion with my learned friend Dr. Todd, of Dublin,* to efface this old Wycliffite notion. If we can abolish this antiquated prejudice, we shall be advancing another important stage in our progress towards the “*unprotestantizing*” we so anxiously desire. In this respect, also, we perfectly agree with the venerable Bishop Bonner. In the list of books which this holy father prohibits, I meet with “Bales’ Mystery of Iniquity,” “The disclosing of the Man of Sin,” “The Image of the two Churches,” and others on this subject. I would certainly also prevent, if possible, the publication of Foxe’s Book of Martyrs. In this respect, too, we agree with Bishop Bonner; for, though Foxe’s Book had not been written at the time when Bonner’s list of prohibited books was published, I find in that list the brief chronicle, concerning the examination and death of Sir John Oldcastle, the Lord Cobham, which John Foxe reprinted. As Bonner endeavored to suppress that heretical Ultra-Protestant book, so would I endeavor to suppress the more voluminous work, in which the account of the death of Lord Cobham was thus republished; and in which, in spite of

* See my Sermons on Anti-Christ, Tract 83; and the British Critic on Anti-Christ, No. 56, pp. 391-449. I cannot discuss this subject here. It would lead to much digression, but we are opening the trenches, and we purpose to batter down this bulwark of the so-called Reformation. I have justly said in that article, “*that the Church of Rome is the House of God, or the House of Satan,*” p. 393. All my writings are intended to prove that it is not the House of Satan, as the Ultra-Protestant asserts, and therefore, &c., &c.

his Lollardism, he is represented as a "Martyr for the Truth." Till the Acts and Monuments of John Foxe lose their influence, the "Tractarian British Critics" will never succeed to change the opinions of our beloved countrymen, on the subject of the controversies between England and Rome. I hope that all my friends will incessantly persevere in overthrowing the authority, and depreciating the value of that hateful book. I am sometimes, it is true, compelled to refer to it, as Strype, Burnet, and others have done, on account of its *collection of records* and documents, many of which are not to be found elsewhere : but for the religious opinions and sentiments of the old Ultra-Protestant himself, I have no respect whatever. I say this in spite of all that Mr. Townsend has adduced in the defence of Foxe ; and I am supported in my conclusions by my friends Maitland, Milner, Laud, Heylin, Collier, Parsons, Harpsfield; and others, whose testimony Mr. Townsend has been impugning in vain.

1547.—I am now brought to the end of this first section. The country was in a state of comparative peace and tranquillity. The design of changing the Mass into a Communion and further extending the Reformation, projected in 1546 by Cranmer, was not effected,* and the progress of the Reformation may be said to be suspended, notwithstanding the activity of the party who still desired further altera-

* Burnet, Refor. vol. 1, B. iii., p. 340.

tions, when Henry VIII. died on the 2nd of January, 1547. Cranmer, because he was Archbishop of Canterbury, was sent for, instead of Bonner, who was now our Ambassador in France, to attend the dying Monarch : and new scenes awaited our venerable Bishop in the reign of Edward.

SECTION II.

FROM THE ACCESSION TO THE DEATH OF EDWARD VI.,
ANN. 1547-1553.

THOSE who disapprove the proceedings of myself, and of my friends, and who foolishly imagine that, in our endeavours to restore some long abolished opinions, we are retrograding too far towards Rome ; have sometimes asked the question, whom are we to love, respect, and depend upon ; if we are to cease to regard and venerate such men as Ridley, Cranmer, Jewell, Hooper, and their coadjutors ? I answer with my dear and bold friend Froude, whose works are the seven-fold shield of Ajax to many a diffident Teucer, in this war, that we must learn to think differently, and to write and speak affectionately of *Bonner and Gardiner*. This was the result of our dear friend's more extended reading. "*I have been very idle lately,*" he says, in a letter to one of our friends*, "*but I have taken up Strype now and then and have not increased my admiration of the Reformers. As far as I have gone too, I think better than I was prepared to do of Bonner*

* Dated January 29, 1832 ; Remains, p. 251.

and Gardiner.”* This confession of my friend appalled me, I must confess, when my more confined reading limited my belief and faith to Ultra-Protestantism. But as I proceed further, I plainly see that new views of this kind will open upon me, and we must not—

“Back recoil, we know not why,

“Even at the sound ourselves have made.”

I have no doubt that, though even now I go much further than my dear friend, I shall soon go further still. With regard, for instance, to Ridley, I had said of this Bishop, that he deserves our respect as, *a great upholder of Catholic truth, who received the martyr's crown.*† Froude says, *why do you praise Ridley?‡ Do you know sufficient good about him to counterbalance the fact that he was the associate of Cranmer, Peter Martyr, and Bucer—* and I have found reason to agree with my friend. Ridley (I grieve to say) used *the common-place Ultra-Protestant statements, and persuaded himself that he was acting in conformity to primitive practice. By taking an active part, with the violent though smaller Ultra-Protestant party, Ridley unhappily gave much occasion for profaneness. So narrow is the path of Catholic truth and so much*

* I quote as usual the very words of Froude and of my other friends, when I refer to them.

† Tract on the Eucharistic Sacrifice, p. 22.

‡ Remains, p. 394, &c.

*danger is there in disturbing any truth.** I can, therefore, no longer speak of Ridley who removed the Altars, and set up the Communion Tables in the Churches, as worthy of my praise.—With respect to Cranmer, I have already called him by his right name, *a man of no decision.*†—With respect to Jewell also, though as a Bishop, he like Bishop Bonner was “*our Saviour’s representative,*” and though I have quoted the words of Bishop Cosins respecting him, as a *worthy and Reverend Prelate*‡—and though Hooper calls him “*the worthiest Divine that Christendom had for the space of some hundred of years*§—yet I now agree with my friend Froude, that he must be regarded as an “*irreverend Dissenter,*”|| and I have acted on this supposition, and proved that Froude was right, and that I was wrong, in my favourite Review, which I use as a vehicle for what he calls the *poisoning* system.¶ I have there proved that Jewell was unworthy of confidence, because he was unfair,** inconsistent, and symbolized

* Tract 81, Note at the end of pages 414, 415.

† Tract 81, p. 16.

‡ Tract 27, p. 4.

§ Eccles. Polity, Book ii., ch. 6.

|| Froude’s Remains, p. 379 ; and Part 2, Vol. I., p. 29 ; and Ext. from Jewell, p. 37, &c., &c.

¶ Froude’s Remains, p. 317. I do not like this word, though I quote it. My dear friend said jokingly, “*he should try to poison the minds of the natives,*” p. 365. The word *poison* is not so advisable as influence.

** British Critic, No. 59, p. 38, &c.

with the foreign reformers. I have quoted with approbation what I am obliged to call the "startling summary," which my friend gives, of Bishop Jewell's religious tenets,* and though, *as I there have said, I do not deny that there are better things, in the writings of Bishop Jewell than I have quoted*† (for I love candour in controversy) *yet, it is absolutely necessary to the consistency of the system which we are labouring to restore—that, as we go on, we should recede more and more from the principles, if any such there be, of the English Reformation :‡* and I am prepared to cease to love Bishop Jewell, as well as to abhor both Cranmer and Ridley. As to Hooper, I shall leave him, though he was a martyr and suffered dreadfully at the stake, to the contempt which he deserves for his opposition to the Vestments ; and thus do I prove that we ought no longer to love, venerate, and admire, such men as Ridley, Cranmer, Jewell, Hooper, or their friends—and if, —if—if, I and my party can but once carry the influencing, or poisoning system so far, that we can diminish the reverence for these men, then, are we preparing the way to make our Churchmen, with Froude and his brethren, first think better of Bonner and Gardiner, and then go on further still, and with me to admire and praise them. If we can teach the people thus to esteem Bonner and Gardi-

* British Critic, No. 59, p. 43.

† British Critic, No. 59, p. 43.

‡ British Critic, No. 59, p. 45.

ner, we can more readily instruct our countrymen, to return to their principles and to approve their practices—to love their friends, and to go on still towards Rome. *We cannot, as I have said, stop where we are. We must go forwards.** That is we must go forwards towards Rome, by going as far back at least, as to the principles and practices of Gardiner and Bonner.

We are now called upon to admire Bishop Bonner in the new and very peculiar position of an opponent to the innovating government of Edward VI. Few sights are so interesting as that of—

“A brave man struggling with the storms of fate,

“And nobly falling with a falling state.”

Though Bonner had complied with all the changes under Henry VIII., I have no doubt he did so because he hoped that each change would be the last. He well knew, when Henry committed the fatal mistake of rejecting the spiritual supremacy of Rome, the King was so firmly attached to the old system, that he had been styled by the Pope himself, “Defender of the Faith.” Bonner had not the gift of prophecy. He could not foresee the extent of the changes which would follow, until they became embodied into that mass of doctrine and discipline which we now call the Church of England, and which was made permanent in the reign of Elizabeth. He could not tell that, as Caiaphas prophesied when he

* British Critic, No. 59, p. 45.

was High Priest, by pronouncing words, capable of another meaning than that which he himself assigned to them ; so the Pope might be said to have prophesied, when he declared the Kings of England “Defenders of the Faith.” He believed that Henry would have strenuously defended the *doctrines* which the Bishop of Rome approved, even though he had departed from the *discipline* of his Church ; and when he found that the King proceeded further than he believed the King ought to have done, Bonner shewed as much disinclination to execute the Royal mandate as he could venture to do. When Henry, for instance, issued his injunctions to Cranmer for the abolishing images, and for removing shrines and their coverings, Bonner received the Royal and archi-episcopal warrant in silence ; and instead of commanding the Archdeacons to execute the writ, he issued a Latin letter to Cluny, the keeper of the coal-house of the Cathedral. Cluny was summoner or apparitor,* it is true, and as such was the inferior officer of the Cathedral, or of the Bishop. Yet he was not the proper person to have executed the King’s orders, if Bonner had been anxious to have cleared his diocese of the shrines, images, bones, and relics, to which the King’s proclamation referred. When the Royal Pope, too, by his own authority, as supreme Head of the Church, pre-

* Edmundus, Divin. perm., &c., &c., &c. Ricardo Cluny, literato, apparitori, nostro generali, &c., &c.—Foxe, new ed., vol. 5, p. 463, compared with 695, and notes.

sumed to publish a proclamation, that his subjects were—"to fast from sin, by renouncing the Devil
"and his works, the world and its vanities, the flesh
"and its affections; but that they might eat white
"meat in Lent, till another proclamation was issued,
"for stock-fish was dear, and fasting in such manner
"was but the law of the Church, and a custom of
"the realm, with which the King might dispense,"—
When this, I say, was done, we do not read that Bonner exerted himself to execute the ordinance.* I cannot, therefore, but conclude that Bonner, as is generally supposed by Rapin, Burnet, Foxe, Strype, and their followers, opposed or objected to the various changes in progress as much as possible. I am confirmed in this view too, by the private letter which Henry addressed to him,† commanding him to use diligence in abolishing the numerous holidays, and especially those which interfered with the harvest. I conclude from this letter, that the public proclamations had not been as much regarded by Bonner as the King desired, and therefore that this private letter was necessary. I mention this, because it confirms my opinion of the consistency of this great man; and because some light is thus thrown on that conduct which was pursued towards him in the reign of Edward, and which we are now to consider.

* See the proclamation in that storehouse of material, Foxe, vol. 5, p. 463, new edit.

† A.D. 1546. Ap. Foxe, vol. 5, p. 605.

Edward the Sixth ascended the throne on the 28th of January, 1547. He was certainly an accomplished, precocious, carefully instructed youth. He had, however, been imbued by his tutors with hatred to the old system, and with the most Ultra-Protestant attachment to the religious movement in progress. Even if his own actions in proceeding much further than Bonner approved did not demonstrate his extreme love for the movement, the fact that the hateful old John Foxe calls him the good Josiah, the mild Josiah, the evangelical Josiah,* would be sufficient to do so. Cranmer was now in the ascendant. He had been appointed one of the Council of Regency, and might be called its head. He was the chief of the movement party in conjunction with the Earl of Hertford, who was nominated to the high office of Protector, at the earliest council after the King's death; while the Lord Chancellor, who had vainly opposed the elevation of that ambitious nobleman, might be called the head of the anti-movement party. The influence of Bonner, therefore, the friend of the out-voted Chancellor, was too small to enable him to check the progress of the movement. The same majority which had appointed the Protector, was in favor of the opinions also which the Earl of Hertford and the Archbishop defended; and the very first measure which Bonner was compelled to take was the result of his own former compliances: and which, if he consequently did lament, he was forced to lament in vain.

* Vol. 5, p. 698.

In the reign of Henry, after the supremacy of the Papal Head of the Church had been renounced, Bonner, in ignorance of the future, had taken out, as we have seen, a commission to exercise the office of Bishop, so long only as the King pleased. Cranmer might be now, in one sense, called the King. His influence at least could enact those very measures to which the Bishop of London would entertain the greatest objection. But there was no remedy. Cranmer only followed the example of Bonner, when he now took out a similar commission under Edward, to act as Archbishop, so long as the young King pleased,—that is, so long as Cranmer acted in conformity with those principles only which he had for many years advocated against the power of Henry, and the opposition of Bonner. Alas! alas! History is but the narrative of crime checking crime, and evil opposing evil—and we can seldom hurl the dart of censure at an enemy, but it recoils from his armour and coat of mail to pierce the joints of the armour of a friend. I cannot censure the weak and wavering Cranmer, without striking a blow at my beloved and favorite Bonner. Cranmer took out a commission to act as Archbishop, during the King's pleasure, and that commission was worded nearly in the same expressions as that which had been granted to Bonner.* The other Bishops did

* The Ultra-Protestants, on the one hand, have denied this supposed subserviency on the part of Cranmer. My Romish brethren, whom I love more than I love the Ultra-Pro-

the same. When Cranmer, at his election to the Archbishopric of Canterbury, was required to take

testants, because (in spite of Jameson's *Roma Racoviana*, et *Racovia Romana*, which endeavors to prove that the members of the Church of Rome are as often Socinians as the renegade Calvinists) I believe their opinions more frequently end in Socinianism—have denied that Bonner took out his commission to act as I have represented. I prefer truth to my hatred of the one, or my love to the other; and I therefore subjoin here extracts from both commissions, to prove the accuracy of my statements:—

Teque licentiamus, (says the commission to Bonner, under Henry VIII.,) *per presentes ad nostri beneplaciti duntaxat duraturas, cum cujuslibet congruæ & Ecclesiasticæ coercionis, potestate quâcunq; inhibitione in te datam presentium emanata in aliquo non obstante tuam conscientiam coram Deo strictissime onerantes & ut summo omnium judici aliquando rationem reddere & coram nobis tuo cum periculo corporali respondere intendis.*—Burnet, *Collec. Records*, vol. 1, b. iii., p. 185, folio edit. A.D. 1679.

Tibi de cujus, (says the commission to Cranmer,) *sana doctrina, conscientiæ puritate, vitæq; & morum integritate, ac in rebus gerundis fide & industria plurimum confidimus, vices nostras cum potestate alium vel alios, commissarium vel commissarios, ad præmissa vel eorum aliqua surrogand: & substituend: eosdemque ad placitum revocand: tenore præsentium committimus; ac liberam facultatem concedimus, teq; licentiamus per præsentis ac nostrum beneplacitum duntaxat, duraturatum cum cujuslibet congruæ & Ecclesiast: coercionis potestate, quâcunq; inhibitione antedat. præsentium emanata in aliquo non obstante, tuam conscientiam coram Deo strictissime onerantes, & ut summo omnium judici aliquando rationem reddere, & coram nobis tuo sub periculo corporali respondere intendis te admonentes, ut interim tuum officium juxta Evangelii normam pie & sancte exercere studeas.*—Burnet, *Reform.* vol. 2, part 2, book i., *Records* 91, folio edit., 1679.

the usual oath of attachment and allegiance to the Pope, he publicly, openly, and expressly,* not in a private room, but in the Chapter-House, at Westminster, and then at the Altar, before those by whom he was consecrated, protested against all clauses in the oath which interfered with his duty to the King. He followed, in this respect, the example of Archbishop Chichely. To this extent Bonner could not have disagreed with Cranmer. In the very same document, however, Cranmer not only thus reserved his allegiance to the King, but he no less expressly declares his intention of proceeding with the Reformation, that is, with other alterations in religion. I take this oath, he said, with the understanding that it shall not oblige me to speak, nor consult, nor decree less freely than I should otherwise have done, in all and every thing which in any manner relates to the Reformation of the Christian Religion, to the government of the Anglican Church, to the prerogative of the Crown, and the good of the Commonwealth; and that I will everywhere follow out and reform those things which in the Anglican Church appear to me to require to be reformed, and according to this interpretation, and no other, I take this oath.† Bonner, therefore, knew

* *Palam, publice, expresse.*

† I subjoin the words of the original—*Et quod non intendo per hujusmodi juramentum aut juramenta quovis modo me obligare, quominus libere loqui, consulere et consentire valeam, in omnibus et singulis reformationem Religionis Christianæ,*

the determination of the Archbishop, and that all opposition to Cranmer, on his part, must have been useless. He looked on, therefore, in silence, when Cranmer, now being possessed of unrestrained authority and power, proceeded most consistently, but most rapidly and imprudently, to make the changes which he unfortunately thought most advisable; while Bonner gave only that opposition which I and my friends, under the same circumstances, should perhaps have given.

So early as the 21st of February, 1547, not one month after the death of Henry, the images were commanded by the Council to be removed from the Churches: but even before this order was issued, the rude people, freed from the terror of the name of Henry, and anticipating the commands of the Archbishop, broke out into open tumults, and every where began to take down and destroy these memorials of the piety of their fathers. Bonner and the Lord Mayor of London, as the two chief Magistrates of the City, complained of the proceedings of the Council. The Clergyman and the Churchwardens

gubernationem Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, aut prærogativam coronæ ejusdem, reipublicæ commoditatem quoquo modo concernentibus; et ea ubique exequi, et *reformari quæ mihi in Ecclesiâ Anglicanâ reformanda videbuntur*; et secundum hunc interpretationem, et intellectum hunc et non aliter, neque alio modo dicta juramenta me præstiturum Protestor, et Profiteor. Sanders is certainly wrong when he says that Cranmer only took the oath before one notary.—See Sanders de Schism., &c., ed. 1583, p. 83.

of a Church in the City took down not only the images and pictures of the Saints, but even the Crucifix itself out of their Church. They set up the King's arms in its place, surrounded with texts of Scripture. They painted also texts of Scripture on the walls. Some of the delinquents were punished, but not with sufficient severity. The Nation, the Council, the Bishops, and the Church were divided. The laws were weakened. The influence of Cranmer prevailed with some; the influence of Bonner prevailed with others; and the utmost that Bonner could do was to withhold himself from the active support of the new laws and proclamations.

One of my favorite opinions, which I have defended with most courage, and I think with some success, both in my Tracts and Reviews,* is the doctrine of prayers for the dead. *There is, as I have said,† but little in the Roman doctrine of purgatory, taken in the mere letter against which we shall be able to sustain formal objections—though there is much presumption in asserting definitively that there is such a place, it need only mean, what its name implies, a place of purification; and it is a very daring and uncharitable thing to make belief in purgatory a condition of salvation.‡* But I am desirous to go as near to Rome as I can, and I therefore must and do say, *that if we consider the doctrine as confined to*

* Tract 79. On Purgatory against Romanism.

† Tract 79, p. 5.

‡ Tract 79, ut sup., p. 5.

*the mere opinion that the good which is begun on earth will be perfected in the next world, the tenet would be tolerable.** The word *detentas*, which is used in the Creed of Pope Pius as the Creed of the Council of Trent, to describe the detention of the soul in purgatory, expresses a stronger idea than I like ; yet, after all, it expresses hardly more, than that the souls in purgatory would be happier out of it than in it, and that they cannot, of their will, leave it ; which is not much to grant ; and that the prayers of the living benefit the dead in Christ is, to say the least, not inconsistent, as Usher† shews us, with the primitive belief. Such is our opinion : and here, till further light breaks in upon us, we are now stopping. If, however, the prayers of the living benefit the dead, those prayers may be offered up by the Priest. If the Priest offers them he must be paid for his services. The most solemn way of prayer, too, is that which is attended with the Holy Communion. If, therefore, the Priest must be paid, and the best way of praying is the celebration of the Communion, I cannot quite condemn the custom of paying the Priest for offering those prayers, and for uniting such prayers with the Communion, and for receiving money from the faithful for his services. We have

* Tract, ut supra.

† This Usher was a favorite of Oliver Cromwell, and therefore an Ultra-Protestant, but I like to quote from these fellows whenever I can. Usher has not said that such prayers are Scriptural.

not however, as yet, such is the benighted ignorance of the age, ventured to submit to our countrymen this soothing proposition. Our fathers were wiser. Henry VIII. left money that his soul might be benefited by the prayers of his people after his body was dead. He had destroyed the Monasteries in which prayers were offered for the souls of their founders, but he took as much care as he could of his own soul. He commanded that two Priests were always to say mass at his tomb daily. Bonner, as the Bishop of his Diocese, would probably have appointed them. What must have been the indignation of Bonner, if even our indignation is excited, to find that the King's will was disregarded—that no mass-priests were permitted to pray for his soul, and that the changes of Cranmer begun with this scandalous ingratitude to his patron and benefactor? I am sure that the soul of Henry VIII. required as many prayers from the faithful after he was dead as the soul of any man who had hitherto lived. The only wonder was, that any of the faithful could have been found to have accepted the money to have prayed for him. I hope that Bonner prayed for him; even if Cranmer did not. I am convinced that the prayers of Bonner to benefit the soul of King Henry would have been quite as efficacious as those of the ungrateful Cranmer. I think I may safely assert, though Cranmer was Archbishop of Canterbury, and Bonner only Bishop of London, that Bonner's prayers would have done as much good to the soul

of Henry after his death, as Cranmer's prayers could have rendered him. This, however, is my opinion only. It is a pious opinion. It is not a doctrine.

A Reformation, thus begun, was conducted with the same rashness which characterized its commencement. Soul Masses were abolished by proclamation—Images were taken down—the Bible was still more freely given—Preachers were licensed—the Epistles and Gospels were read in English—Processions were put down—Homilies were ordered to be read by non-preaching clergymen—and many other changes were made.* In addition to these, injunctions were issued to the Bishops, to take care that the orders of the Council were obeyed. What could be done? The worthy Prelates, Gardiner, Bonner, and Tonstal, with the pious Mary, the King's sister, were against all these alterations: and protested against any further changes till the King was of age; but they could not oppose the public law. They could only so withhold their influence from the changes, that their disapprobation should be known. When the injunctions and homilies were submitted to Bonner, he refused to receive them, unless his protestation was accepted at the same time, that he would enforce them only if they were not contrary or repugnant to God's law,

* See the injunctions in Foxe, vol. 5, p. 786; and Burnet, v. 2, book ii., pp. 24-30.

and the statutes and ordinances of the Church ; and he immediately added with an oath, that he had read neither the homilies nor the injunctions. This may appear to some Ultra-Protestants to be indefensible ; but though he had not the patience to read them through, he must have known their contents ; and the expression denotes only that he abhorred and despised both the innovators and their innovations. Finding remonstrance, however, to be useless, he submitted more fully, but his submission was too late to protect him from disgrace. *Bonner was committed to the Fleet prison, for his exercise of his freedom of opinion, and his love of impartial enquiry.* The new enlighteners of the country did not then understand the modern doctrine of toleration. The real object of their thus removing him, is given by the judicious Rapin. A Parliament was about to be called, in which it was intended to repeal the Six Articles, and thus to sweep away from the National Creed, the Doctrine of Transubstantiation, Auricular Confession, Communion in one kind, Purgatory and Private Masses for the Dead, Celibacy of the Clergy, and the obligation of Monastic Vows. Bonner, it is well known, would have opposed these sweeping changes to the utmost of his power ; and, therefore, he was committed to the Fleet. He protested against the injunctions and homilies in September. The Parliament was summoned for the 4th of November, the very day on which, one hundred and forty-one years after, a Dutchman, a foreigner, was invited to prop

up the building of which Cranmer and his coadjutors were now laying the foundations. But the Parliament completed thus far its work of change ; and then Bonner was released from the Fleet on the 17th of November, the day when that iron vixen Elizabeth ascended the Throne eleven years after. Every day in the year seems marked by some remembrances of our fatal changes. Though Bonner, in conjunction with four of the Bishops, opposed in the House of Lords, immediately after his release from prison, the next innovations on the subject of the Sacrament of the Altar which changed the Mass into a Communion and that in both kinds, we do not read that he wasted his strength and energies in opposing any further alterations. His motto seems to have been "I bide my time." He complied, therefore, though with much reluctance, with certain new injunctions of Cranmer, and directed his Clergy to omit the carrying of candles on Candlemas Day, ashes on Ash Wednesday, and palms on Palm Sunday. He commanded, in obedience to the same authority, the removal of images from his churches, and the suppression of the private Masses in his Cathedral. Cranmer wrote to Bonner on the removal of candles, palms, and ashes : and Bonner wrote to the Bishop of Westminster the first, and (hitherto till more Suffragan Bishops are appointed) the last of that title, to enforce obedience to the Archbishop's mandate. His letter, however, does not positively command. He merely says that the Archbishop has

apprized him that the Council had resolved to forbid the use of these things ; and that he was required to apprise the Bishop of Westminster of their decision, and he now did so, that the Bishop might inform the Clergy. He used the same language with respect to the removal of images. He obeyed the law, but he manifested to the utmost of his power his repugnance to the changes in progress. The Archbishop invited foreigners into the country. The Council of Trent was still sitting. Bonner hated the former, and, perhaps, hoped for relief from the latter ; and so he continued for a time till after Easter, 1548, without receiving any further molestation from the enemies of his firmness, silence, and orthodoxy.

In the year 1548, however, the patience of Bonner was still more severely tried. Though a proclamation had been issued, commanding no persons to innovate rashly, or without authority, whatever might be their opinions, under pain of imprisonment—and though, to prevent the inundation of ignorant, zealous, excited, and exciting preachers, that great curse of an agitated country, it was ordered that none should preach without a license from the Council, the King, or the Archbishop, but incumbents only, and that in their own parishes ; yet these two evils continued. One, that the proclamations were not regarded, because they were affirmed to be contrary to law ; as they were issued after the repeal of the Act of Parliament which gave authority to the Council to command that such proclamations

have the force of law*—the other was, that the Government was still the greatest innovator, and the principal encourager, therefore, of the movement party ; upon which indeed it depended for support. So many changes had been made—the minds of the people were so unsettled, the repeal of the act of the Six Articles, which had so long been considered as the bulwark of the Church against all further changes, and the want of some one uniform order of public worship, had induced a religious anarchy among the people. They knew not what to believe. They knew not how to pray : and it became evident that some decided effort must be made to calm these elements of national discord, and to restore the public peace. A committee was accordingly appointed of selected Bishops and Divines, to examine and consider, and reform all the existing offices and devotions of the Church. Bonner was one of the committee, and it cannot be necessary to say one of the minority in the conclusions to which it arrived. The first subject to which their attention was directed, was the Sacrament of the Eucharist. The Commissioners were required to give in writing, answers to the questions, on every point submitted to them. Most of these have perished ; those on one of the most important of all, the Mass, are still preserved.†

* See Cranmer's proclamation, and the remarks of Burnet, *Hist. of Reform.*, vol. 2, p. 60, and Records No. 22.

† No. 25, Collection of Records, in Burnet, *History of the Reformation*, vol. 2, book i., page 62.

In reply to the question,* “What is the oblation and sacrifice of Christ in the Mass?” Cranmer answers, “that the oblation and sacrifice of Christ in the Mass, is not so called; because Christ indeed is there offered and sacrificed by the priest and the people, (for it was done but once by himself, upon the Cross) but it is so called because it is a memory† and representation of the very true sacrifice and immolation which was before made upon the Cross.” Bonner answers, that “it is the presentation of the very body and blood of Christ being really present in the Sacrament; which presentation the priest maketh at the Mass, in the name of the Church, unto God the Father, in memory of Christ’s passion and death upon the Cross; with thanksgiving thereof and devout prayer, that all Christian people, namely, they which spiritually join with the priest in the said oblation, and of whom he maketh special remembrance, may attain the benefit of the said passion.”‡ To the question, wherein the Mass consisteth? Cranmer answers, like an Ultra-Protestant, indefinitely, by saying it consisteth in those things which be set forth in the Evangelists, and he then refers to certain passages of the New Testament.§

* No. 3. Vide ut sup.

† That is, a remembrance: the word is still preserved in our Communion Service.—See Tract 81, page 55.

‡ Burnet, Records vol. 2, part ii., b. i., page 136.

§ Matt. 26, 27; Mark 14 and 15; Luke 22 and 23; John 6; 1 Cor. 10 and 11; Acts 2.

Bonner and his other out-voted brethren answered, that it principally consisteth in the consecration, oblation, and receiving of the body and blood of Christ; with prayers and thanksgivings: but what the prayers were, and what rites Christ used or commanded as the first institution of the Mass, the Scripture declareth not. I shall only observe on these answers, that as *the doctrine* of the early Church was this, "*that in the Eucharist an oblation or sacrifice was made by the Church, to God, under the form of his creatures, of bread and wine, according to our blessed Lord's holy institution, in memory of his death and passion.*"* I agree with Bonner more than I agree with Cranmer, because he is more definite and less Protestant, less symbolizing with the foreigner, less innovating. The Council of Trent had not yet completed its sittings. It had not, therefore, given to the world the painful definition, that the body of Christ is offered on the Sacramental Altar, with the very bones and nerves of the body on the Cross. The doctrine of Transubstantiation, which Cranmer elsewhere calls "the very body of the tree of Popery,"† we all re-

* Tract 81. On the Eucharist, p. 4.

† What availeth it (says Cranmer) to take away beads, pardons, pilgrimages, and such other like Popery, so long as the two chief roots be unpulled up. The rest is but the branches and leaves—the cutting away whereof, is but like topping and lopping of a tree, or cutting down of weeds, leaving the body standing, and the roots in the ground; but the very body of the tree, or rather the roots of the weeds, is the Popish doctrine of

ject (at least we do so at present), but we all receive, or we ought to receive, as I have shewn at length,* the doctrine that there is a sacrifice in the Eucharist, and if there is a sacrifice, then there must be the act of sacrificing, priests to offer, and altars on which the sacrifices are to be offered. All these I deem to be, therefore, essential to the right idea of the Sacrament; and because Bonner expresses this notion, without going so far as the Council of Trent, I cannot but think, though I have not said so, either in my Tracts or Reviews, that the definition of Bonner is preferable to that of Cranmer. But though I speak with some hesitation on this point, I certainly shall speak with less reserve (than I wish the doctrine of the Atonement to be preached to the common people) on another question, with the answers of Cranmer and Bonner. The seventh question was, whether Masses for the Dead should continue, that is, whether priests should be hired to sing for souls departed. Cranmer thought they should not. Bonner very justly says, "that he does not think the schoolmen defined those Masses, according to the wording of the question; but it is

Transubstantiation, of the real presence of Christ's flesh and blood in the Sacrament of the Altar (as they call it), and of the sacrifice and oblation of Christ made by the priest, for the salvation of the quick and dead.—Cranmer's second preface to his reply to Gardiner and Dr. R. Smith, p. 3, folio edition, 1550.

* Tract 81, on the Eucharist, which consists, with my Anti-Ultra-Protestant references, of 45 closely printed pages.

not against the word of God, that priests praying in the Mass both for the quick and the dead, may take a hiring for the same," and he is quite right: for if, as I have said, *the dead have an interest in the offering of the Eucharistic sacrifice, and obtain additional joys and satisfactions thereby*,* then I am sure, that as the priest is preferable to a layman, no affectionate son, brother, husband, wife, or parent, could refuse to pay the clergyman or the priest who devoted his time to praying for the souls of our kindred; and if the prayers of the living can take the dead into a better state, *then* the dead were in a worse state before those prayers were offered. All this, however, I must pass by till I consider the *providential check to the Reformation*, in the reign of Mary; when the opinions of Bonner in which I agree, and those in which I grieve to say I cannot but differ with him, shall be more fully considered. I can only now say, that the confusion among the people was partially ended by the committee putting forth a new order for the Communion, which is not very different from that which is now in use. Auricular confession to the Priest was neither commanded nor forbidden. The impenitent were required to withdraw from the Communion. The bread was to be of the same form as that which had been formerly used, and the wording of the sentences pronounced by the priest at the distribution of the bread

* Tract 81, p. 7.

and wine was, the body of our Lord, &c., &c., preserve thy body—the blood of our Lord, &c., &c., preserve thy soul. The Reformers had not yet departed so entirely from the antient doctrine of the Eucharist, as they did when they published the second service book of King Edward. But this was not all. The whole subject of the public prayers of the Church were next brought under consideration, and a Liturgy was compiled, which, I must confess, was worthy of much approbation. The object of the committee,* who compiled it, was to give a form of prayer and worship to the people, which should avoid, on one hand, the too numerous ceremonies, which had been gradually introduced into the Church, and escape the rude simplicity which was too much affected by those who were even more Ultra-Protestant than Cranmer and his brethren. Nothing was to be changed, merely because it was antient. Nothing was to be added, merely because it was novel. A reason, whether satisfactory or unsatisfactory, was assigned for every alteration. Bonner, we may well suppose, was not satisfied with the doing away the elevation of the host, the consecration of the salt at baptism, and many other things of this kind; but his objections are not recorded: and we may infer, that he submitted as patiently as his energetic temperament permitted. He was at least not grieved, as I and my

* See Burnet's Acct. ut sup.

friends have been, with the painful changes subsequently made in this very service book ;* though this first book of Edward was said, when it was first published, to be given to the nation by the Holy Ghost.† But I shall speak of these changes when I consider some of the expressions of my favorite prelate respecting them, and shew the identity of his opinions with those of my friends. Though I am compelled to condemn and have condemned many things which the Reformers established, I am still prepared to defend the greater part of their labors, and *to point out the indications of a superintending Providence in the preservation of the Prayer Book, and in the changes which it has undergone.*‡ This declaration has appeared to some of my Oxford friends, to be an inconsistency ; but I have proved that this is not the case, by demonstrating in the same Tract, that our present Liturgy, *though we may reverently trust its omissions, additions, and alterations were ordered by the same spirit, under whose controul the first rites of Catholic worship were ordained,*§ is still to be regarded as a kind of punishment to us ; *that its changes took from us a part of our antient inheritance.*|| It is

* Tract 69, pp. 267 and 269.

† Tract 86, p. 1.

‡ This is the title of my favorite Tract, No. 86.

§ Tract 86, p. 7.

|| Tract 86, p. 7.

the language of servants rather than sons. It is with the Church at large as with an individual; he who sees the returning penitent afar off and hastens to meet him, should put becoming words into his mouth, by which he confesses himself to have forfeited the claim of sonship, and to be willing to be received in a lower state.† Our requests, as that Ultra-Protestant puritan, Cartwright, with whom in this case I agree, observes, in some instances carry‡ with them the note of servile fear, which is peculiarly our own; and the exhortation and appeals to repentance in our Prayer Book indicate a low and decayed state of the Church. Though as my friend Froude, whose sentiments are ever to be remembered with affectionate esteem, has remarked, “such passionate appeals to the feelings as those are, would not be so objectionable in themselves, if they were given outside of the Church; and not be allowed to occupy the place of religious worship.”§ I have given many proofs of this judicial humiliation;|| but I postpone any other notice of these demonstrations of our religious degradation afforded us by our Liturgy, till I compare the conduct of the Ultra-Protestants who admired it, and who foolishly died at the stake in its defence, with the devotional expressions of Bon-*

* Tract 86, p. 9.

† Tract 86, pp. 9, 10.

‡ Tract 86, p. 16.

§ Tract 86, p. 18.

|| Tract 86, p. 26.

ner, who presided over, or commanded their punishment. I shall only say now, that even the first Prayer Book of Edward could not have satisfied the more elevated holiness of Bonner, who *derived his prayers from our inheritance, the unreformed ritual of Rome.*

The Liturgy of 1548, with the exceptions to which I have alluded, was the same as that we now possess. This Liturgy was completed and prepared for the approbation of the Parliament, which met on the 24th of November. A bill to make this first Liturgy the service established by law, as the Common Prayer to be offered up by the people, in every Church, Morning and Evening, daily, throughout the year, was brought into the House of Commons on the 9th of December, 1548, within six days after the introduction of the bill, which allowed married men to be made priests, and two days after another bill which allowed the unmarried clergy to marry. The bill enacting the first Liturgy as the legal worship of the community was passed on the 15th of January. The bills relating to the marriage of the Clergy were passed as one measure by the Lords, on the 19th of February. We have no accounts of the Parliamentary debates at this period, but Bishop Bonner opposed both measures; and I have no doubt that much which the venerable Prelate uttered, would have been amply confirmatory of many sentiments of my own friends on the propriety of the celibacy of the Clergy. Though we do not *at present* de-

sire to abolish the Liturgy, or to restore the laws which command celibacy to the priest, we only think and say that our Liturgy requires revision, with the view to the restoration of some things omitted in the second service book, which were found in the first : and we prefer celibacy to marriage, in the Clergy, and commend the single life to our brethren. Both bills passed in spite of Bonner's opposition. Neither was this all. A new visitation of the whole Church and kingdom was ordered, under his enemy, Cranmer's direction, in which the influence of Bonner seems to have been more especially aimed at. The Bishop of London, like a conscientious statesman or councillor, had opposed in Parliament every change in every legal manner to the utmost of his power. When, however, the laws to which he had objected were once enacted, he complied so readily and obediently to the new statutes, that, to use the language of Burnet,* it was not easy to find any matter against him. He executed also every order, that was sent to him, so readily, that there was not and could not be any ground for complaint. His influence with the old party was thus continued, while the Ultra-Protestants, though they knew his unchangeableness, could find no fault with him. While Bonner thus obeyed every enactment, a certain number of his clergy, equally attached with himself to the reasonable ordinances of Henry VIII.,

* Burnet Ref., p. 2, b. i., p. 121, folio edit., 1681.

endeavoured to continue the old manner of worship to the utmost of their power. When they were required, therefore, to read the new service, they did so with the same tone of voice, with which they had formerly read the Latin service.* Many ceremonies were also continued in the Communion Service, which had been used in the celebration of the Mass, and we read in the letters which the Council sent down to Bonner in the course of this year,† that private Masses for the repose of the Souls of the Dead were celebrated in St. Paul's Cathedral, with the silent sanction, or without the prohibition, of the firm and unyielding Diocesan. The injunctions of Cranmer at his visitation, Burnet says, do not refer to the Liturgy, though they refer to the Law permitting the marriage of the Clergy; and he, therefore, thinks it probable, that they were not issued before Whit-Sunday, 1549—for, on that day, the Liturgy was to come into universal use, and after the meeting of Parliament, which ceased its sittings at the end of March. But Burnet has not observed that the second and seventh injunctions mentioned the Book of Common Prayer, and I consider this reference, therefore, to be made to the new Liturgy; and the injunctions themselves, to prove that Cranmer was resolved to compel Bonner to obey the law more fully. Some of the clauses in the injunctions must have been peculiarly hateful to

* Burnet, *ut supra*.

† 24th June—from Richmond. Ap. Foxe, vol. 5, p. 723.

Bonner. He was ordered, for instance, to take care—that no minister do counterfeit the Popish Mass (then follows a list of the antient ceremonies, which the Clergy had been accustomed to use, and which they were now commanded to avoid)—that none maintain purgatory, invocation of Saints, the Six Articles, relics, lights, palms, ashes, candles, Christ's altars, or other such abuses and superstitions.* Bonner, that is, was ordered, contrary to the convictions of his conscience as a Bishop, to exert himself more strenuously to remove the observances which he approved. His enemies were not contented with his silent tranquil obedience to the laws he had opposed, as soon as those laws were passed. They required him to punish the men, whose only fault was, that *they endeavoured, with my friends in our ninetieth Tract for the Times, to reconcile obedience to the laws of the English Church, with adherence to the opinions and practices which that Church was expressly established to destroy.* This Bonner did. This they do. Both are equally right; and both, therefore, are disliked by the Cranmerian and Ultra-Protestant party, for attempting to reconcile the two. They are unjustly alleged to be putting new wine into old bottles, and sewing the new piece on the old garment. We shall not, however, be diverted from our course. *We shall follow the example of Bishop*

* Burnet, vol. 2, part 2, b. i., Records 165.

Bonner. We shall protest and submit. We shall object and be patient. We shall be insulted yet persevere. The change is going on. In "quietness and confidence is our strength." We shall still proceed on what my dear friend Froude calls "the poisoning system." We shall go on in the mist, till what the Ultra-Protestants would call the evil spirit, is found near the tree of life. We hope to become as the dry rot in the beams of the Ultra-Protestant Tabernacle in the wilderness of the dreary Reformation, till the rotted timbers fall, and a second Reformation be begun and completed by the "Tractarian British Critics." The people of the Church of England will eventually only be guided by us. Young enthusiasts, aged theologians, Churton and Hook, Perceval and Keble, Palmer and Todd, Pusey and Oakley, Newman and Froude, are with us. Our system is working its way, though not in secret, yet so subtly and impalpably, as hardly to admit of precaution or encounter. It has been the fashion, and in spite of*

* British Critic, No. 50, p. 402. I must, however, confess that I have doubted since that number was written, whether all these, especially Dr. Hook, agree with me in every point. This latter gentleman has published Lectures on Passion Week, professedly taken from Mr. Townsend's work on the New Testament. This is enough to ruin Dr. Hook in the estimation of all sound Tractarians, for Mr. Townsend has openly defied us, and was the first, I believe, of the Dignitaries of the Church who addressed a charge to his few clergy against us and our proceedings, at the very beginning of our useful and splendid career.

Mr. Townsend it is going out of season, to accuse the agents in the present Revolution of being simple Dominies. We will prove to them before we have done with them that—but I must be prudent; for I remember the advice of my friend Froude, and I will not startle the Anglican Churchman with any premature announcement of the extent to which I would take him back to “the Saviour’s holy home.”*

The mentioning of this epithet, as applied by one of our dear friends to the Church of Rome, (which I have elsewhere called *our dear sister in the Faith, nay our mother to whom, by the Grace of God, we owe it that we are what we are: may we never be provoked to forget her, or cease to love her, even though she frown upon us,*)† reminds me of a circumstance which occurred about this time, and which makes me, with my friend Froude, *hate these Reformers more and more.* The new Liturgy was to come into use on Whit-Sunday. This was on the 14th of May,‡ for Easter-Day fell in the year 1549 on the 26th of March. In the preceding year, Joan Boucher had been condemned for heresy, but had been detained in prison in hopes of her conversion.§ This heretic was now brought to the stake and burnt

* I have expressed my opinion of this clergyman in the *British Critic*, No. 50, p. 407.

† *British Critic*, No. 59, p. 3.

‡ *Burnet Reform.*, part 2, b. i., p. 103, folio edit., 1680.

§ *King Edward’s Journal*, ap. *Records*, p. 2, *Burnet*, ut *supra*.

on the 2nd of May, 1549, in Smithfield. It is generally believed that this murderous execution took place to intimidate the strangers and foreigners who came into England at this time from the Continent,* and who entertained similar opinions with herself. I believe, however, that Joan Boucher was now burned to intimidate all who might be hesitating whether, at the end of the fortnight which elapsed from the time of her execution, they should use the new Liturgy : and I believe further, though it has escaped even the vigilant eye of my Anti-Protestant friends, that Cranmer, on this account alone, urged, entreated, and pressed the young King against his own better, though youthful, and even private judgment, to sign the death warrant. It is well known that Edward long hesitated to obey the chief Bishop of his own Church, who, as such, was "*our Saviour's representative.*" He actually thought it cruelty, to use the language of Burnet,† like that which they had condemned in Papists, to burn any for their consciences ; and his conversation with Sir John Cheek on the subject, confirmed him in this opinion. Cranmer, however, or the Protestant Church, in his person, persuaded him to sign the death warrant. He assured the King that for such heresies as that of which this poor wretch was guilty—for such "*embodied evils*" as Joan Boucher, the punishment of death was just. " You

* Burnet, p. 3.

† Page 3, ut supra.

shall answer for it to God, if you have taught me wrongly," said the young Prince, when he yielded, silenced but not convinced, and signed the fatal warrant. Well might the "*weak, wavering, Cranmer*" be struck, as Burnet relates, with horror. Was it not prophetic horror? Well might he direct that the half maniac be taken to his own house, that he might persuade her to recant. Well might the people be horrified to find that, though they had generally believed "that all the statutes for burning heretics had been repealed: now when the thing was better considered, it was found that the burning of heretics was done by the common law, so that the statutes made about it were only for making the conviction more easy; and the repealing the statutes did not take away that which was grounded on a writ at common law."* The precedent which should consign the Archbishop to the stake was now set, when the same united ecclesiastical and civil authority, which declared the opinions of Joan Boucher to be heresy, pronouncing in a short time, the same law, from other lips, declared the opinions of Thomas Cranmer to be heresy. Joan Boucher was burnt in the name of the Church. "We," says the writ under the authority of which she was burnt,—“We, Thomas, Archbishop of Canterbury by Divine Providence, and Metropolitan of all England, Hugh Latimer, Doctor of Divinity, William Cooke, Dean of the Arches, and others,”

* Burnet, part 2, book i., p. 112.

so the sentence was headed,—“ We—having enquired, have found thee, Joan Boucher, unwilling to “ return to the unity of the Church,* believing an “ heretical opinion, therefore we pronounce thee an “ obstinate excommunicated heretic.” Then the writ was issued in the old form, and in the old spirit of our other mother and sister, “ *the Saviour’s holy home,*” and “because,” it proceeds to say,—“because “ the said Joan defended and remained obstinately† “ and with a hardened heart in her errors, heresies, “ and damnable opinions, and refuses to return to the “ bosom of the ‘ *Holy‡ Mother Church,*’ therefore “ with bitterness of spirit, and with grief of heart,§ “ we pronounce that the same Joan, often advised “ and exhorted by us to return to the unity of the “ Church, be regarded as an obstinate heretic : and “ since the *Holy Mother Church* has no more that “ it can do, we relinquish to the secular arm, this “ relapsed heretic aforesaid, to be visited with con- “ dign punishment.|| Signed by us, Thomas,” that is, by us, Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury ! Oh, *Holy Mother Church* ! Where—and what art thou ? Was not Cranmer the regular successor of the Apostles when he burnt Joan Boucher ?

* Ad Ecclesiæ unitatem redire nolentem, hereticam opinionem credentem.—See the original in Collec. Records, Burnet, part 2, book i., p. 168.

† Pertinaciter, animo indurato.

‡ Ad Sanctæ Matris Ecclesiæ gremium.

§ Animi amaritudine, et cordis dolore.

|| See the original, ut supra.

And was not Bonner the regular successor of the Apostles when he burnt Thomas Cranmer? *Were not both our Saviour's representatives? Were not both to be regarded as Bishops, who were as worthy of attention, as such, by the people, as if the people saw them work miracles as the Apostles did?* I confess I am in amazement! I cannot as yet approve the act of Bonner in burning Cranmer, neither can I approve the act of Cranmer in burning Joan Boucher. I have not approved of these acts of either "*Holy Mother Church*," in any of my Tracts, or articles in my beloved British Critic. Both my mothers—my old mother or grandmother of Rome, and my dear mother the Church of England—are alike the excitors of reverential fear. I do not dare, as a British Critic, to use my private judgment, and pronounce either to be unprovable and illaudable. I therefore leave the question. I can only say that the Church which burnt Joan Boucher, and the Church which burnt Thomas Cranmer, were both called in the writs for burning—the "*Holy Mother Church*"; and that if these burnings be a proof of either Church's maternal tenderness, and holiness, our rival mother or grandmother, the Church of Rome, is infinitely more holy than our mother, the Church of England; and the theories of all my friends in favor of the Church of Rome, the "*Saviour's holy home*," which "*soothes the heart*,"* are amply con-

* "Thou dost soothe the heart,
"Thou Church of Rome."*

* The Christian year.

firmed by this most peculiar proof of her sanctity and love. I believe Joan Boucher was burnt on the 2nd of May, 1549, to intimidate Bishop Bonner into accepting the new Liturgy on the fourteenth of the same month; and the only comfort I can find in the study of this act is afforded me by my friend Froude, who assures me, or rather his editor assures me, that "*we may fairly doubt the accuracy of the reasoning on which the revisers of the Liturgy proceeded, without impugning their statements as contrary to the word of God.*"*

The time had now arrived when the quiet moderation and passive obedience of Bonner, could no longer afford him protection. Soon after the adoption of the new Liturgy by the people, an order of Council was sent to him, dated the 24th of June, commanding him to abrogate the private Mass in the remoter parts of the Cathedral, and that the Holy Communion be administered at the "*High Altar*" of the Church. The word Altar was not yet disused, nor the Altar itself commanded by the public law to be changed into the Lord's Table. Bonner forwarded the order of Council, with letters from himself, to the Dean, Chapter, Canons, residentiaries and other ministers, of the Cathedral, commanding them to peruse them, and to proceed accordingly. I mention the date of this transaction, because the Counties of Yorkshire, Devonshire, and Wiltshire were now in open insurrection, demand-

* Froude's Remains, part 2, vol. 1, p. 62, note.

ing the restoration of the act of the Six Articles, and other doctrines, which were no longer sanctioned by the public law. This continuance of the private Masses was said to encourage the rebellious commons in their disobedience, and the Princess Mary on the 22nd wrote to the Council, refusing, in the most decided language, to obey the new laws respecting religion. The instant compliance of Bonner with the fresh order proved that he neither encouraged the rebellion, nor upheld at this time the opposition of his future Queen. This homage to the authority of the Council, however, was not deemed sufficient. The Bishops and Clergy who were unable to approve the new Liturgy were charged with "cloaked contempt, and stubborn disobedience"; so that the Book of Common Prayer was either kept back or irreverently used.* Another order was, therefore, sent to Bonner, whose example in withholding any energetic enforcement of the reception of the Book of Prayer is supposed to have been an incitement to his inferiors to proceed further, to rebuke him for negligence, and to charge him to provide for the more effectual reception of the Prayer Book through his Diocese. He was commanded to give an example in his own person of attendance upon public worship, and to direct his Officials and Archdeacons to be more active in their duty. Bonner, in his continued hatred of the Reformation,

* Foxe, vol. 5, p. 726.

received this order with the same calm and contemptuous indifference with which he accepted the former order. He took no notice of the personal exhortation to himself, but sent both letters to the Dean and Chapter, requiring them to take care that the order be obeyed, and to notify to him or to his Chancellor their proceedings, with the names of those who should be found negligent. The order and this letter are respectively dated the 23rd and 26th of July, 1549.*

It must be acknowledged by the most vehement Ultra-Protestant declaimer against Bonner, that no direct offence had been substantiated against him. The country, it is true, was in a state of rebellion : but this fact did not afford to him any sufficient reason for more activity in the questions relating to his obedience to God, than the letter of the law required. His mother Church was the Church of Rome. He had not been quite weaned from her bosom. He had not become fully reconciled to his step-mother, the Anglican Church, to whom his Sovereign and the nation had been so lately married. That step-mother and his father, the State, resolved, therefore, to proceed more actively, and Bonner was summoned before the Council, to answer to certain informations which were now formally alleged against him. A Bishop is a personage too sacred to be accused of malice, hatred, or revenge :

* Foxe, ut supra.

but the treatment which he received, and the result of the several appearances which he was required to make before the Council, and the King's Commissioners, before he was committed to the Marshalsea and deprived of his Bishopric, without any canonical offence being proved against him, will go far to induce us to palliate and excuse his conduct in the reign of Mary.

On the 11th of August, 1549, a messenger then delivered to him a paper of injunctions, admonitions, and articles. He was accused in these, of absenting himself from the newly-enacted public worship, and from the Holy Communion, and of negligence in other parts of his duty. He was then commanded to preach at St. Paul's Cross, within three weeks—to attend the public service at all the principal feasts, to summon before him the absentees from the Communion, to use one order of service only in his Diocese, and to remain in his own house till further orders, and with these injunctions he was dismissed.

If this had been all, there would have been no reason to complain. The government was justified in commanding obedience. The Bishop was justified in rendering that amount of obedience only, which he believed did not clash with his higher obedience to his Holy Mother;—whether it was the mother who burnt Joan Boucher, or the mother who afterwards burnt Thomas Cranmer. But he was now commanded to give some positive proof that he would execute the duty which the civil government

required of him; by urging the people and Clergy whom he governed and influenced, to avoid rebellion and obey the laws. To compel him to give these directions to the people, the Council prescribed the subject for the sermon, which he was commanded to preach at St. Paul's. He was directed to decry rebellion, to speak on many useful topics, but; above all, he was to speak on one more especial topic. The rebels in the counties, and the Princess Mary, in her letters to the Council, had insisted on the doctrine, that the King's power, so long as he was under age, was inferior to the Royal power when the King had attained his majority. This opinion served as an excuse for refusing obedience both to the Council of Regency, and to the King's Commissioners. Bonner, therefore, as Lord Bishop of London, was required to teach the people that the authority of the Royal power "is* of no less authority and force in this our young age, than is, "or was, that of any of our predecessors, though the "same were much older, as may appear by example "of Josias, and other young Kings in Scripture; "and, therefore, all our subjects to be no less bound "to the obedience of our precepts, laws, and statutes, "than if we were thirty or forty years of age."

The day arrived when the Bishop was to preach. It was on the first of September, 1549. An immense concourse of people attended at St. Paul's

* Foxe, vol. 5, p. 746.

Cross. He spoke to them on all the points which the Council had commanded him to enlarge upon, excepting the peculiar topic of the King's authority. He could not conscientiously teach the people that the political importance of an accomplished boy was equal to the importance of a more experienced man. Few persons indeed then understood the difference between the regal authority of an individual King, and the regal authority of the same individual as an estate of the realm. Instead of speaking, therefore, on this point, he enlarged on that topic which is ever nearest and dearest to the heart of a Romanist—the nature of the presence in the Sacrament. He asserted, in strong language, the corporeal presence. He severely denounced the rejecters of that doctrine, and so concluded his address. I cannot learn whether he defended it by the usual arguments with which his hearers were probably familiar, or whether he advanced those more ingenious arguments, with which my friend Froude* has endeavored to prove that a spiritual body may be in two places at once, though a natural body cannot; and that the presence in the Sacrament is that of the spiritual body, and therefore that our Church of England is not impugned or contradicted, when its members believe a corporeal presence. I read only, that the sermon of Bonner gave much offence to his hearers. Among

* Unreasonableness of Rationalism.—Remains, second part, vol. 1, p. 61, s. 4.

these, whether from curiosity, devotion, or by command, we know not, were Hugh Latimer and John Hooper, afterwards Bishop of Gloucester, the celebrated Ultra-Protestant objector to the vestments. These two men, both of whom were burnt by the Holy Mother Church which again succeeded to the present Holy Mother Church, drew up a denunciation against Bonner for his sermon; and submitted to the Council their complaint against Bonner, as an instigator of rebellion and an exciter of sedition and disorder. A commission was instantly issued, at the end of one week, to the Archbishop and others, after the preaching of this sermon, to summon Bonner before them; and full power was given to the commissioners "to suspend, excommunicate, and commit to prison the said Bishop Bonner, if his offence appear to merit such a sentence, or to use any other ecclesiastical censure, which for the better hearing and determining the cause shall appear to require, any law or act to the contrary notwithstanding." Such was the extent of the commission: and I am sure that no Ultra-Protestant will deny that it was both illegal, arbitrary, and unjust, according to our modern, and, though modern, more just notions of justice, to issue out a commission to deprive a Bishop, on the accusation that he had not preached a sermon which satisfied the rulers of the hour. The omission of a charge to the people not to rebel does not constitute rebellion. If he could not be proved to have preached the duty of resistance, or to have been

guilty of some positive violations of the law—he was entitled to protection from that law. The only protection either to a weak and divided government, to an agitated and anxious people, or to a discontented yet obedient public functionary, is that rigid adherence to the law, which gives time for deliberation on the consequences of actions; and prevents future revenge, by avoiding present injustice. Bonner, it is true, disapproved of the new Liturgy and admired another system of professed faith and discipline; but he had not been found guilty either in a Court of Canon, or Statute Law, of any violation of the new enactments; and the conduct which he was now about to experience from those whom he deemed to be his personal enemies, justifies his Biographer in vindicating the good sense and good taste of Froude in admiring the character of Bonner. If a man is treated unjustly, we are always inclined to vindicate his principles, palliate his errors, and apologize for his faults. So it is with Bonner. The Council treated him with harshness. That harshness, when he himself possessed power, was retaliated upon his enemies. The mode of that retaliation was so apparently cruel, that it has ever been severely condemned: but the candid and impartial Tractarian will only see in the severity of Bonner, the active vigilance of an enemy to Ultra-Protestantism, quickened, inflamed, and continued by this violation of the law, merely to establish an erroneous creed, to gratify personal hatred, and to in-

flict an indefensible injustice. Let this be remembered, and the grossness of his manners, the vehemence of his demeanor, and the strangeness of his language, will no longer render the name of Bonner hateful—nor his religion odious. I and my friends at least possess the boldness and the candor to make our present appeal in his favor, to the enlightened and impartial churchmen, whose opinions on this, and on so many other points, we earnestly desire to change.

Much as I dislike the pages of that unworthy martyrologist, whose labors have contributed above those of all other men to make the name of Bonner detested by posterity, I am compelled to confess that it is thence alone I derive the information respecting the seven appearances of Bonner before the Archbishop and the other Commissioners at Lambeth, of which I shall now give a short abstract. The Editor of the new Edition of Foxe has compiled all the accounts of these judicial enquiries from the earlier editions of that unworthy book.* I shall briefly relate from his lengthened compilations, the proceedings of each day. The conduct and demeanour of the Bishop of London has been severely condemned. It certainly did not at all resemble the deep respect and courtesy, which St. Paul displayed before the Sanhedrim, even though Bonner had thought that Cranmer might have resembled the

* Foxe, vol. 5, p. 749, &c., &c., &c.

High Priest. Bonner entertained for his accusers, Latimer and Hooper, and for his judges, Cranmer and the other Royal Commissioners, the same, or possibly greater contempt than I, my brethren, and even my friend Froude, who acknowledges that he hated them more and more in proportion as he studied their proceedings. Bonner held them all in the most sovereign utter contempt as heretics, gossellers, sacramentarians, and Ultra-Protestants : and though I cannot defend the language he sometimes used, when I remember that the first Prayer Book of King Edward, which Bonner opposed, retained in the baptismal service the exorcism of the Devil from the child, the presentation of the white vestment, and the holy anointing, which I wish to see restored : yet I do think under all the circumstances of the case, that some apology may be made for this veteran soldier. Among other wise and just laws of the pattern Church of the fourth and fifth centuries, heretics and excommunicated persons were forbidden to give evidence against a Catholic Bishop in any ecclesiastical causes, until they had made satisfaction for their crimes.* Bonner, as a Bishop, as "*our Saviour's representative*," who was to be as much regarded as an Apostle himself, when that Apostle was actually working miracles, could not submit to break the antient Canon law, and to be calmly and quietly accused, judged, and condemned

* See Bingham and his references, B. xvi, chap. 6, sect. 2, vol., p. 102, folio edit., 1726.

by them, whom he, as a Bishop, knew to be heretics, and therefore to be *ipso facto* excommunicated. He could not patiently submit to be arraigned in his own Diocese, among his own people, by "*teachers of yesterday, who would not hesitate to have slandered even Thomas Becket himself, that blessed Saint and Martyr of the most High.*"*

The first appearance of Bonner before Cranmer and the Royal Commissioners took place at Lambeth, on Wednesday the 10th of September. The Archbishop and his assessors were seated. Bonner entering the room, passed close by them as if he was about to take his place at the other end of the room. He remained covered, and condescended to take no notice whatever of his heretical judges. A bystander took his sleeve and pulled it, and enquired if he would pay no respect to the Royal Commissioners. The Bishop laughingly turned round, and then as if he saw Cranmer for the first time—"What, my Lord, (he exclaimed) are you here—by my troth I saw you not." "You would not see," said Cranmer. "Well," replied Bonner, "you have sent for me, have you any thing to say to me?" One of the Commissioners replied, "that he was summoned before them to give an account of his sermon at St. Paul's Cross, when he did not preach to the people on the subject of their allegiance to the King." Whether the Commissioner who answered was a layman or an ecclesiastic, we know

* British Critic, No. 59, p. 42.

not. Bonner made no reply, but addressing himself to the Archbishop, "In good faith, my Lord," he said, "there is one thing which I would wish were had in more reverence than it is?" "What is that," said Cranmer. "It is the blessed mass," said Bonner, "you have written very well on the Sacrament, I marvel you do no more honor to it." Upon this an irrelevant conversation ensued between the two rival ecclesiastics : on the termination of which the other Commissioners, who had been silent during the discussion, called the accusers of the Bishop. When they gave their evidence, Bonner expressed his most Catholic and orthodox contempt for their persons and their denunciations. He did this in a manner which I much regret, because as a Bishop, he should have certainly observed (if I in the exercise of my own private judgment may presume to censure a Bishop) more courtesy and dignity towards the Judges whom the public law had commanded to judge him. He called his accusers by strange names. One he called a goose, another a woodcock ; one a daw, another a fool. His just contempt, for such irreverend men as Hooper and Latimer might have made him despise them, but I am not quite willing, with all my veneration for Bishops, to eulogize the peculiar modes of manifesting his abhorrence and contempt of heretics, which this great man now adopted. The Commissioners appear to have had more forbearance. Cranmer asked him "if he would be judged by the evidence

of the people who heard the sermon." Bonner derided him, and the sitting was adjourned to the next day.

On the eleventh, the Court again met. The King's Commission was read, and Bonner was commanded to answer to the charges. Instead of replying, he drew from his bosom a solemn protestation against the authority of the Commissioners. He avowed that he would not acknowledge them as his judges, and he called their commission a forged, or rather a pretended authority. He must have referred to the general opinion that the King was incompetent to legislate in ecclesiastical matters till he was of age. The protestation was received in silence. His accusation was then delivered to him. He read it, and observed only that it was worded in very general terms, and could not be directly answered. Cranmer reminded him of the order in council and his decided disobedience, and called upon Latimer and Hooper to give their evidence.

They came forward. Bonner looked at them. Losing all patience, as both Froude and I should have lost it, when the heretical innovators and apostates from his own opinions stood before him: "as for this mechant* Latimer," he said, "I know him well; and have winked too much at his proceedings. As touching the other mechant Hooper, I

* Foxe says the word was merchant. I think it must have been as I have read it.

“have never seen him before ; though I have heard “much of his preaching.” He then turned to Cranmer, and said, “I see, my Lord, the true reason “for which I am brought here. It is that I explained “in my sermon the true doctrine of the Sacrament.” Upon this another long conversation ensued between them on that subject. When it was over, copies of the commission of his indictment were demanded by Bonner, and granted by Cranmer, and the court was again adjourned.

On Friday, the 13th, Sir Thomas Smith, one of the Commissioners, appeared in his place for the first time. Bonner perceived it. Instead of replying to the Archbishop, when he opened the proceedings of the day by calling upon him to answer to the charge against him, he protested against the interference of Sir Thomas Smith, because he had not attended from the beginning. I cannot condemn him for thus taking advantage of every real or supposed flaw in the management of the case against him. The objection was overruled by the Secretary Petre, who proved to him that such irregular attendance was not unusual ; and directed him to proceed with his reply to the charges against him. Bonner then produced a written denunciation, which he confessed to have been hastily drawn up, against Hooper and Latimer, heretics, who had spoken against the Holy Sacrament of the Altar, and who, being excommunicated, were unfit and unable to bear witness against a Catholic Bishop. He affirms

that he preached against rebellion. He declares that the Communion was not frequented because of the novel changes which had been made, and expressed himself with equal severity against his accusers for presuming to criticise his sermon. He recurs again to the subject of transubstantiation, and concluded by affirming that he was a dutiful and faithful subject of his Majesty's.

The peculiarity of this meeting was, that it seems to have put Cranmer out of patience. Bonner objected to the accusers as heretics. "If my cause be good," said Cranmer, "what should I care who accused me : even though he were the Devil of Hell." "It is the King's law and not the Pope's law which I quote," said Bonner : and he said rightly. Joan Boucher had been just before burnt for heresy under that same Canon law, against heresy, which had been long made the Statute law of the realm, and one part of which was, that a heretic could not be received as a witness, against an orthodox believer. The fact was, that Bonner, by impugning Hooper and Latimer of heresy and incompetency to act in a court of justice, was arraigning Cranmer himself, and Cranmer knew and felt the full force of the implication. Therefore he answered again with more petulance than was usual, with one so generally self-possessed, "I wish you had less knowledge of that law and more knowledge of God's law, and of your duty." When a judge forgets his dignity on any provocation whatever, he places himself in the power of his

prisoner. So it was with Cranmer. "As your grace falls to wishing," said Bonner, in reply, "I could wish many things with respect to your grace." The Judges perceived the unworthiness of this scene. "We can proceed," said the Secretary, "either with or without the testimony of these witnesses, at our pleasure." "Do as you please," said Bonner, "I ask but justice." Some further recrimination passed, when Latimer presented his accusation against Bonner in writing. "Here," said the Commissioners, "are the articles we intend to allege against you, and we minister them unto you not at the promotion of these witnesses, but for ourselves, *ex-officio*." The articles were only the first accusation more formally drawn up. Bonner then took an oath, that he would reply to them honestly. He desired the official copy to be given to him. In reply to the question of Secretary Petre, whether he preached from a written sermon, he replied that he preached from notes, collected both by himself and his Chaplains. The Court was then adjourned till Monday the 16th.

The same undignified scenes took place at the third meeting. The business of the day was opened by the offer of Latimer and Hooper to clear themselves from the charge of heresy. Heresy was at this time a burnable offence. Bonner quoted against Hooper, whom he called a "varlet," his work on the Sacrament. He used other expressions, which I deem to be unadvisable in the mouth of a Bishop, and when

the people laughed at him, he turned round and again called them "woodcocks." "You are not summoned here," said Cranmer, "for your opinions on preaching on the Sacrament of the Altar. Listen, good people, to the real accusation against the Bishop of London." Cranmer then delivered the paper to Sir John Mason to be read. "This," said the Archbishop, "is what the Bishop of London is accused of." Bonner would not be prevented from going on in his own way. The one only real contest which at this time divided the people was—whether Transubstantiation was true or not. It was the criterion by which all were judged. On one side was the definite doctrine of the old system; on the other a mass of unsettled and undefined doctrines, more or less erroneous, on the subject of the Sacrament. Cranmer's book, the reply to Gardiner, had not then been published. The first service book of King Edward, which we Tractarians are now so anxious to see restored as our first step back to Rome, did not satisfy our venerable friend Bonner, though he had not (for he could not have) adopted the definition of the Council of Trent; and I am sometimes afraid, therefore, that even if we did restore it, we should not conciliate to our communion our brethren of the Church of Rome. That service book prohibited the shewing, or elevation of the consecrated bread,* but

* Cardwell's two books of common-prayer in the reign of Edward VI. compared, p. 298; Oxford, 1838.

commanded much veneration to be paid both to the bread and wine in this respect—that the Minister was directed to take the bread and wine and place the bread on the corporas or paten, to put the wine in a chalice, and to mingle with it pure water, and himself to place both on the altar. The “Lord’s board,” to use the expression then most common among the Reformers, was called an “altar,”* and not as it now is, “the table.” The Priest was ordered to turn to, and not as in the second service book, to kneel at, God’s board.† Though communion in both kinds was allowed, the words at the delivery of the bread to the communicant were, “the body of Christ preserve thy body;” and one kind of the communion was called the Sacrament of the body of Christ, the other the Sacrament of the blood.‡ The wish, indeed, of every Reformer, from Wycliffe to Cranmer, had been to preserve the union of the Church, and to remove the errors of Rome. They never wished to separate from Rome, if by any sacrifice, short of what they believed to be the truth of the Gospel of Christ, they could have preserved that union. The wafer was commanded to be discontinued, but the bread to be used was not to be common bread, but to be of the same form as the wafer. It was to be thicker and to be so made as to be easily divisible: and the people were assured that the whole body of

* Cardwell, p. 281.

† Cardwell, p. 302.

‡ Cardwell, p. 308.

Christ was in each part. This last concession ought certainly to have satisfied even Bonner himself; for I cannot at present think that we should be all willing to go back to the Six Articles. My friends are only at present anxious to restore the first service book of King Edward.* It was commanded that those who had the power to attend should not be absent from the communion. It was the violation of this law in his own person, as well as the permitting the solitary masses in his Cathedral, which first occasioned the present proceedings against Bonner. It was the feeling and conviction that whoever continued to receive the doctrine of Transubstantiation to the full extent of the antient mode of believing in the "Sacrament of the Altar," was on one side; and those who, whatever their various forms of opinion, had departed from that antient canon, were on the other, that Bonner was so persevering in speaking to this point only—and that he now, in the midst of this scene of accusation, recrimination, and undignified interlocution, again turned to Cranmer, and, taking a book from his sleeve, said to him, "My Lord of Canterbury, I have here a note "out of your books, that you made touching the "blessed Sacrament, wherein you do affirm the verity "of the body and blood of Christ, and I have another "book of yours also, of a contrary opinion—this is a "marvellous matter." Cranmer always replied to this kind of interruption of the proceedings. He well

* See Dr. Pusey's Tracts on Baptism.

knew, as his own experience afterwards proved to be the fact, that if the rebellion which, though partially put down,* still raged in many parts of England, should be successful, and if the old system should be restored, he might himself be deemed a heretic, and suffer the fate of Joan Boucher. He replied, therefore, as Hooper had done, instantly, to Bonner on this point. He resented the accusation that he was a heretic, as zealously as a brave soldier is anxious to refute an imputation on his courage. *Little as I and my friends sympathize with the Marian Reformers,*† I must acknowledge that Cranmer and his party shuddered at the charge of heresy. "I will defend my books," said Cranmer, "and I will find a boy of ten years old, that shall understand that matter more aptly than you, my Lord of London."‡ The Commissioners again interfered, and begged Bonner to keep to the point and to answer to the charges, which he accordingly, after another lamentation that one of his order, at the malicious denunciation of vile heretics, should be thus strangely

* The account of the success of the King's troops against the rebels in Norfolk and Devonshire, had been sent to Bonner at the moment when he was about to preach at St. Paul's Cross; and it is to this circumstance that he attributed his loss of self-possession, so that he omitted to preach precisely as the Council had directed him.

† Tract 39, page 14.

‡ Foxe, vol. 5, p. 765. Perhaps Jortin took from this expression his remark on Popery, when he calls it, "that old superstition which no child ever attacked without giving it a mortal wound."

used, proceeded to do. For the answers of Bonner to the charges of Cranmer, I must refer to Foxe, the only historian who gives them : Burnet has abridged the account of the Martyrologist. The sole point of any interest is the manner in which he replied to the more precise charge, that he had not defended the identity of the regal authority, before the King was of age, with his authority after that time. Bonner declared that he had collected, both from history and from Scripture, the names of many Sovereigns, who were honored as true, wise, and lawful Kings, during their minority—that he had arranged these materials for his sermon in his notes, and that he would have preached them, but he did not remember them, partly from not being accustomed to preach in that place, and partly because of his receiving a dispatch from the Council at the sermon time, relating the success of the King's troops against the rebels. This, he says, confused his memory. His notes also fell out of his book ; yet he still retained sufficient self-possession to exhort obedience to the King, whose minority was well known.—Such was his defence. What a strange picture it presents to us of the manners of the times ! What should we now think of a dispatch from Downing-Street to the Bishop of London at the commencement of a commanded sermon, announcing the putting down of a Radical meeting. How certainly ought we to accept an apology from the Bishop, especially as he preached in the old way from notes, if he was so embarrassed that he omitted

even the most important part of his discourse. Bonner is entitled to this defence. The Judges professed to be dissatisfied with it. He refused to give any other reply. They demanded a formal answer whether he had or had not complied with the order in Council. He declared he would give no other answer than he had done, unless the law compelled him. They threatened to treat him as confessing the justice of the charge. He replied that he had already answered. Upon this the witnesses* were summoned. Bonner again objected to them as heretics, as perjured violators of their monastic vows of celibacy, as apostate monks, married priests, as altogether incompetent, and his personal enemies. Upon this the Court was again adjourned. The matter was laid before the Council. The question was asked whether the Commission was to proceed on the evidence of these witnesses, or on their real or supposed knowledge of his conduct. The King commanded them to proceed, and to hear and determine the cause. We send you, added the King, this declaration, to supply all default, ceremony, and point of law, and we command you to proceed.† The Court was adjourned, and the Bishop was summoned to appear again on Wednesday the 18th, at Lambeth. Surely I and my friends are right in regarding these

* The names of the witnesses in addition to those of Hooper and Latimer, were—Master, afterwards Sir J. Cheek, Henry Markham, John Joseph, John Douglas, and Richard Chambers.

† Foxe, vol. 5, p. 776.

arbitrary proceedings of the Reformers, three centuries ago, as a sufficient reason for undoing their whole work, breaking anew and setting again the limb of the Reformation, and giving the Church and the people a second Reformation. When such tyrannical conduct against Bonner and his party characterized, when they were in power, the Marian Reformers, can their being burnt five years after this trial of Bonner justify their harshness to the Bishop of London ; or vindicate their prayer-books, their homilies, or their faith ? Are we not right in thus pointing out their faults, that we may more easily unprotestantize England ?

I am weary of these details. The fourth appearance of Bonner took place at the time appointed. Bonner is commanded to declare why he should not be treated as one who had confessed. He again gives in reply a paper of protestation against the Commission, the Judges, the witnesses, and especially against Sir Thomas Smith. Cranmer reproves both this protestation and his former conduct, in calling the King's Commissioners, and the evidences and the people about them, "fools and daws." "I assure you, my Lord," he added, "that there was you and one other Bishop (probably Gardiner was meant) that have used yourselves so contemptuously and disobediently, that I think the like hath never before been heard or seen." "You shew yourself to be a meet judge," said Bonner scornfully ; and much more recrimination again followed. He was reproved for

calling the Commission "a pretended power." The former accusations were submitted to him in the state of newly drawn articles. He desired a copy of them which was granted, and the Court again adjourned till the next day. Fresh witnesses were then summoned. The Bishop not only objected to them,* but exhibited a written accusation against Latimer, as an impugner of the King, in calling him a babe and a child. The accusation seems to have been received in silence, and the Court again adjourned.

When the Court again met, Bonner was not present. Two of his gentlemen appeared for him, and declared that sickness prevented his attendance. Sir Thomas Smith seems to have believed that his sickness was feigned. "You do the part of a trusty servant as becometh you," said he to Mr. Johnson, the Bishop's servant, "but doth your master think to oppose the King in his own realm? Is this the part of a subject? I think we shall have a new Thomas Becket," with much to the same effect. I shall only remark on this, that though Sir Thomas Smith was certainly in much estimation as the King's professor of Civil Law, and was soon after appointed to be Secretary of State, that his contemptuous way of speaking of this "*blessed Saint and Martyr of the most high*" Thomas Becket, excites in me the same indignation as it excited when Jewel used the same language. If we had more Beckets we could again

* One was Master William Cecil.

place Kings in their proper position. I do not say we would flay them at the tombs of Canterbury, but we would make both them, as well as their people, submit to the "*representatives of our Saviour*," as Bishops, because they are Bishops. We would compel their obedience to the ascendancy of the Apostolicals, who desire only the elevation of their Holy Mother.

On the following day Bonner made his appearance, objected again to all the witnesses, replied generally to the articles, and protested with more than his usual vehemence against Sir Thomas Smith as his personal enemy. He had probably been informed by his servant, Mr. Johnson, of the blasphemous words which Sir Thomas Smith had spoken, against the "*blessed Saint and Martyr of the most high*," Thomas Becket. The anger of the Bishop against this Ultra-Protestant Judge renders the fifth appearance of his victim Bonner more interesting to us, than any which preceded it. After Bonner's exceptions to Sir Thomas had been read, the Secretary, full of the pomp of office, replied that he was and would be his judge till he was otherwise commanded by the King. "I said, my Lord, that you behaved like thieves, murderers, and traitors, in your rebellious conduct, and I here repeat my accusation." This language was certainly indefensible. The most stanch Ultra-Protestant must confess it to have been so. "As one of the King's Council," replied Bonner, "I must and do honor and reverence you; but as ye are but Sir

Thomas Smith, and say as ye have said, I say ye lie, and I defy you : do what ye can to me, I fear not." And Bonner is to be believed. The persecutor and the victim in these sad times would have changed places. The tribunal or the stake, the judgment seat or the scaffold, the mitre or the cap, the rochet or the shroud, were alike indifferent to the zealous controversialists of the hour. Cranmer interrupted the conversation. "You are worthy of imprisonment," he said to Bonner, "for such irreverend behaviour." This remark made our zealous Bishop of London still more indignant. "In God's name," he said to Cranmer, (I do not say that I approve the language in which the Bishop of London expressed himself,) "send me whither ye will, and I must obey you. I will go everywhere for you, but to the Devil, for thither I will not go for you. Three things I have—a small portion of goods, my poor body, and my soul. The two first you may take—my soul ye get not." He was determined to save his soul by still believing in Transubstantiation and worshipping Thomas Becket, the Saint and Martyr, our additional Mediator with the Most High. "Well, Sir," said the Secretary, "ye shall know that there is a King : " and the Council chamber was commanded to be cleared, while the Commissioners proceeded to deliberate on their best mode of concluding this vexatious affair.

Bonner now stood among the attendants at the door of the Council chamber. His Chaplains, Re-

gistrar, and Commissary were with him. Seeing the Chaplains (Harmsfield his great assistant in the severities, by which in the following reign he endeavored to suppress the ascendancy of the Ultra-Protestants, was one of them,) much depressed, "Sirs, what mean you," said the persecuted Bonner, "I could wish you to be as merry as I am. I am right glad and joyful in this trouble, it grieveth me not at all. That which grieveth me is that Hooper and such vile heretics be licensed to preach at St. Paul's Cross, and at the other places in my diocese within my cure, and that they detestably rail against the blessed Sacrament of the Altar; and deny the verity and presence of Christ's true body and blood to be there. In this opinion I will live and die, and am ready to suffer death for the same. Go, I charge ye, to the Mayor of London, and bid him leave the Church when he and the Aldermen hear such preachers, and lest they learn to believe that such erroneous doctrine be true." Then turning round and observing Cranmer's gentlemen, who were listening to his bold ejaculations; "I charge ye also," he said, "my Lord of Canterbury's gentlemen, to do the same, and tell my Lord, your master, of these my sayings, as ye are Christian men, and shall answer for your conduct." By this time Bonner was commanded to return. He did so, and then read to them a written appeal to the King, which he had prepared previously to his leaving home that morning, and he refused to make any other answer whatever, unless Sir Thomas

Smith was removed. This resolute conduct brought the matter to issue. "Ye will give no other answer?" said the Secretary. "None," said Bonner, "except the law compel me." "Call the Knight Marshall," said the Commissioner, "that he may be had to ward." The other Commissioners seconded the threat. They declared that he had behaved most unbecomingly, and that he must be committed to the Palace prison, the Marshalsea. The officer whose duty it would be to secure his person, if he were so commanded, now came in, and Sir Thomas Smith directed him to take charge of Bonner as his prisoner, and to provide that no person held communication with him. The fact that the Secretary committed him seems to have surprised Bonner, who said "that the Archbishop was the most proper person to have done so." No reply was made. He was commanded, however, as a last effort to induce him to plead, to be brought before the Commissioners once more on the following Monday, and the meeting adjourned till an early hour on the morning of that day.

Who does not—who will not, except the most bigoted Ultra-Protestant, admire the firmness of Bonner, in thus appealing to the King against the words of the King's Commissioners. I well remember that when I was a school-boy, long before my mind was illumined with the principles of the British Critics, with whom I have lately associated at Oxford, that I was taught to admire the precisely simi-

lar conduct of Hough,* the President of Magdalen College, Oxford. When James II., that ill-used, and most wise King, sent his Commissioners to Magdalen to enforce some mandates, by which he would have prevented the "*sin of 1688*," "*that great rebellion*," "*that great error*," as I and my friends variously describe the fatal revolution of that year; Hough, on hearing of the design of the Commissioners, appealed to the King. "I appeal to his Majesty," he said, "against his Majesty's Commissioners, in his Majesty's Court of Justice." If Hough be admired for his appeal to the King against the King's Commissioners; why should not Bonner be admired. It is true that I can draw no further inference, at least, at present. For if, as my brother Tractarians would infer, we are to establish Bonner's principles, because Bonner was firm: we must establish Hough's principles, because Hough was firm, and we should thus be left at the dead lock in which the Church and State are now unfortunately placed, under the effects of the great sin itself. We must trust to the poisoning system. I proceed with my narrative.

Before Bonner left the Council Chamber, he turned once again to the Commissioners, and declared himself ready to go to the stake itself and to be burned for the opinions he had advocated. "You

* "Such as on Hough's unsullied mitre shine," was the testimony of a Poet, whose religion I much prefer to that of the Ultra-Protestants.

have committed me to prison," he said, "understand that I solicit no favor at your hands. I shall willingly suffer whatever ye put upon me, not only bolts and fetters at my heels, but if you please the iron ring round my body." When he executed the law in the reign of Mary, he only inflicted upon others the penalty he was willing to endure himself. His benevolence, or rather his love of justice, was equal to his courtesy towards man, and his piety towards God. He paused once more, however, before he left the room, and turning to Cranmer, "Sorry am I, my Lord, that I, being a Bishop, am thus handled at your Grace's hand : but more sorry am I that ye suffer abominable heretics to practise as they do in London and elsewhere. I do require you, as you answer to God and to the King, that ye henceforth abstain thus to act. If you do not, I will accuse you before God and the King." So he spake. In the next reign he kept his word. Cranmer sent Bonner to prison. Bonner sent Cranmer to the stake. Three centuries have elapsed since their mutual accusations and mutual severities divided the people. How long are the questions they discussed to embarrass us? Which are we to do? Are we to restore the principles of Bonner, or retain the principles of Cranmer? I and my friends will answer the question. We will throw off Cranmer ; we will find some resting place between him and Bonner. If we cannot do this, we cannot rest—we cannot stop, and how far we shall go I cannot yet ven-

ture to say. Oh, genius of Froude ! genius of Oriel ! direct me.

The sixth appearance of Bonner before the Commissioners was marked only by his still denying the competency of his Judges to try him, and Cranmer declared him contumacious. The Secretary then produced the copy of a letter which Bonner had written to the Lord Mayor of London, in which he required the Mayor to follow his example, in rising up and leaving the congregation, whenever vile beasts and heretics preached, prated, and railed against the blessed Sacrament of the Altar ; denying the verity and presence of Christ's true body and blood to be there. Bonner was commanded to declare whether he wrote this letter or not. He made no other reply than that he should abide by his former protestations. The Court then adjourned till the Friday following, to hear his final decision, and to conclude the proceedings.

The seventh and last appearance of Bonner before the King's Commissioners took place accordingly on Friday the first of October. Cranmer commenced the business of the day by gentle words. He expressed his deep sorrow for the continued contumacy of which Bonner was guilty ; and begged him to acknowledge his fault and submit to the King's mercy. Bonner made no other reply, than that he refused to consider them as his Judges, for he had appealed to the King, and that he would not then have been present if he had not been brought there by force. He

presented an appeal against the delegates to the Chancellor, and argued that his very appeal implied that acknowledgment of Royal authority, which was demanded of him. Upon the presentation of this paper, after some very undignified conversation between the Secretary and Bonner ; Cranmer, Ridley (then Bishop of Rochester), the Dean of St. Paul's, and the Secretary, proceeded to give their definitive sentence against him. Cranmer read that sentence as the Archbishop of the Province and Metropolitan. What must have been the feelings of Bonner when seven years after, in the reign of Mary, he pronounced those bitter words which drew tears from his coadjutor Thirleby, who assisted at the degradation of the Archbishop. The reading of his own sentence of deprivation by Cranmer was then present to his mind ; and I fear, though he was a Bishop, and "*our Saviour's representative*," and though he ought, as such, to have been held in reverence as an Apostle, as much as if the people saw him work miracles* : yet I have sometimes thought that the severe words he then uttered, were not so useful to his cause as the more gentle demeanor of the "*weak and wavering*" Cranmer. Yet my friend Froude prefers Bonner and Gardiner to the wretched Reformers ; and I with him must "*hate them more and more*." Bonner appealed from the sentence of the Commissioners as being no law, and contrary to any known law of any kind. His appeal was rejected.

* Tract 73.

He returned to the Marshalsea, and remained there till the "*providential check*" which Cranmer received in the reign of the calumniated Mary. His appeals from the prison to the Council and to the King were submitted to a Committee, who, after considering them very carefully, declared them to be unreasonable, and confirmed in every respect the sentence of the Archbishop and the Commissioners.

Here, then, with few additional remarks, I terminate my view of the life of this interesting Prelate till the death of Edward VI. Burnet has discussed the legality of his deprivation.* I can only say that as he had taken out his commission from the King instead of the Pope, to hold his Bishopric during the King's pleasure, he could not complain of the exercise of the King's authority. He had put himself out of the protection of the Canon law by receiving his Episcopal power from the Royal hands. The Ultra-Protestants rejoiced at his deprivation; but the Bishops in the reign of Mary were deprived by the same authority, and if Edward had not the power to remove them, the much-abused Mary could not possess such power. If the temporal Sovereign was the Head of the Church, his or her decisions as certainly constituted orthodoxy, as the opinion of the Papal or Ecclesiastical Head of the Church had previously constituted the same excellency. Heresy, or the non-compliance with the opinion of the regal, or Ecclesiastical Head of the Church, was the same

* Burnet, Ref. part 2, book 1, p. 127.

in both cases. The only thing, therefore, required to make Edward and Cranmer as consistent as Mary and Bonner, was the declaration that Bonner, by resisting the regal Head of the Church, was a heretic, and then to have burnt him. By not burning Bonner, Edward and Cranmer proved that they had no right to deprive him of his Bishopric, and it is more than doubtful whether the civil reason was sufficient. The mercy, therefore, of Cranmer and Edward, in not burning Bonner, made his deprivation an act of injustice : while the consistency of Mary and Bonner, in burning Cranmer, proved him to be a heretic, and thus satisfied the whole world. So much better is it, in all theological matters, to be consistent, however much we may startle the weak and ignorant.

Some curiosity has been excited with respect to the conduct of Bonner during his imprisonment in the Marshalsea. He was now the confessor or martyr and witness for the Church of Rome, a Church which prescribes more fasting and mortification *as our mother, than its daughter* the Church of England. I have spoken much on this subject, and the neglect of this duty among ourselves ;* and I certainly had expected that Bonner would have afforded me an illustration of the great benefits of austerity, that I might hold up his example to imitation, as I do his doctrines to commendation. I must, however, here confess that I am somewhat disappointed. In my review of Todd's discourses on the Prophecies

* Tract, No. 18.

relating to Antichrist,* in which I endeavour to destroy that foolish Ultra-Protestant doctrine which Warburton says is one pillar of the Reformation, that Rome is Antichrist, I compare Bishop Newton with Cardinal St. Borromeo. I endeavor to neutralize the effect of Bishop Newton's arguments to prove that Rome was Antichrist, by shewing that this Protestant Bishop never fasted, "*was idolatrous of comfort, cast a neglectful look back upon his dinner when he was at supper, and anticipated his morning chocolate in his evening muffins,*"† and consequently, *yes, consequently,* (I am sure the true value of my sound logical reasoning will strike every one with admiration,) "*this is not the man to prove Rome to be Antichrist, and to unchurch, smite, ban, and wither the whole Christian Church for many centuries.*" Borromeo, I have shewn, resigned preferments, sold his jewels for the poor, fasted on bread and water, and was found in a fit of the ague, by a visitor, lying on a coarse bed and in a poor cottage; and it was evident, therefore, that his opinions, even if they were not true, could not be called those of an adherent of Antichrist. As Bonner then became a victim for the same opinions as those which Borromeo espoused, I was desirous to see the manner in which the deprived Bishop of London demonstrated to us that he also could not be an adherent of Antichrist. He was a

* British Critic, No. 56, p. 409.

† British Critic, No. 56, pp. 406 and 412.

Bishop, and as such I wished to prove the justice of the quotation of the last words of Ignatius, in one of my early Tracts,* of submitting ourselves to our Bishop, as to Jesus Christ. I trusted to shew that as Newton's dinner and chocolate proved to us that he was not a competent witness to demonstrate that Rome was Antichrist, so the fasting of Bonner would help me to overthrow Newton's hypothesis. Bonner may be called the Reformer of the Reformation as far as it had already gone ; and "*the only good Reformers* (as I have said) *in all ages have been ascetics.*" I have mentioned four or five of the chief Reformers in one sentence together. They are *Elijah, St. John the Baptist, Hildebrand, Becket, and Innocent.*† Some Ultra-Protestants have been offended with me for thus blending these names. But I value them all equally as the lights of the Church : and I had hoped, as Bonner was so great an upholder of the Church of Hildebrand, Becket, and Innocent, that he would have been even more eminent than they were for ascetism, as an illustrious Reformer. My surprise, therefore, amounted to consternation when I read that Bonner, like Bishop Newton, actually concerned himself about puddings. In a letter addressed to Mr. Lechmore, he desires a large quantity of puddings and pears to be sent him, otherwise he consigns his correspondent to the Devil, to the Devil, and to all the Devils : he

* Tract 52, p. 7.

† British Critic, No. 59, p. 15.

then commends his friend to God, and *dates his letter the Feast of All-Saints*, according to the religious custom, which I and my friends, since the commencement of our Tracts, have lately revived at Oxford.*

Another remark respecting Bonner is suggested to me by an observation of my dear friend Mr. Froude, whom I am never weary of eulogising, both in my numbers of the *British Critic*, in my Tracts, and in my conversations with my other friends. Mr. Froude† is illustrating the unreasonableness of Rationalism, and the reasonableness of what he calls the miracle of the Eucharist, by the history of Balaam and his ass. “*The ass saw the Angel, but Balaam did not see him. Balaam believed the evidence of his senses, he saw nothing but walls and vineyards, and therefore he smote the ass.*” My dear and most surprisingly sensible friend, whose papers have caused so much sensation, compares those who do not see that the bread and wine become really the body and blood of Christ to Balaam, and he adds, “*that if Balaam's disbelief deserved that the Angel should slay him, of how much severer punishment shall we be*

* The pears were well accepted; but if among you I have no puddings, then must I say as Messor, our priest of the hospital, said to his mad horse, in our last journey to Hostia—*Al diavolo, al diavolo, al tutti diavoli.* Our Lord preserve you, and all yours, with desire to be recommended to all. *Festo omnium Sanctorum*, in the Marshalsea. Your loving and old acquaintance, EDMUND BONNER.—Burnet's Reformation, part ii., book 1, Records, p. 170.

† Remains, part second, vol. 1, pp. 66-7.

thought worthy, if it prove that, by our not seeing the miracle which Mr. Froude saw, we have trodden underfoot the Son of God."

Now my grave and no less beloved friend Dr. Pusey has taught me "*not to allow myself to be deterred by any vague fear of an approximation to any doctrine or practices of the Church of Rome.*"* I do not, therefore, permit myself to shrink from Mr. Froude's apparent approximation in this passage to the doctrine of Transubstantiation. I was, however, much struck with another remark of his very ingenious elucidation. It is this—BALAAM'S WAS TRULY A PROTESTANT SPIRIT. I certainly did not know this before: neither did I understand it till I had well considered the case of Bonner. It seems to me, then, that as the *spirit which does not see the miracle in question, is a Protestant spirit*, Cranmer, when he did not see it, must have been Balaam. If so, the Angel is the doctrine of the Eucharist, which Cranmer could not see. Bonner must be the ass which was beaten. The staff must be the Marshalsea, and the parallel between Balaam and the Protestants is completed. It is evident that BALAAM WAS A PROTESTANT, and he who does not see and acknowledge this, and he who will not therefore apply to the Protestants the words of Rev. ii. ver. 14, deserves all the odium and contempt which I and my friends are daily heaping upon the bearers of that hateful name.

* Tract 66, introduction p. xvii.

Here, then, I complete my narrative of the life of Bonner during the reign of Edward the Sixth. He was committed to the Marshalsea in the month of October, 1549, and remained there till the death of Edward, in July, 1553. During this imprisonment of nearly four years, he was prevented from interfering in any public business, and opposing any of the rapid and extensive changes which I and my friends condemn, in common with the venerable Bonner. Ridley was installed Bishop of London about four months after Bonner's deprivation, and proved to Cranmer a coadjutor after his own heart. The work of the odious Reformation proceeded rapidly, and there was no true Bishop of London to oppose it. How must Bonner have deplored, (and I hope that he had better consolation than his pears and puddings during the calamity,) how must Bonner have derided also the reports which would be daily brought to his ears of the changes which characterized the four years of his imprisonment. Now they informed him, soon after he was committed to his apartments in the Marshalsea, early in 1550, of a new form of Ordination, and consecration of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons. He would hear in that year of the elevation of Ridley, and the deprivation of Gardiner, whose letter to the King's Commission as a bold and honorable defence of his conduct, is praised by Burnet,* as having more of a Christian and less of a Bishop in it than anything he had ever seen of

* Ref., part 2, book 1, p. 36, and Records, No. 13.

Gardiner. The letter was written at the commencement of the changes under Edward. Bonner heard in this place of the preaching of Latimer—his enemy Latimer—at Court, and of the appointment of his other enemy, Hooper, to the Bishopric of Gloucester. In the Marshalsea he must have heard and derided the disputes about the vestments. He heard of the calling in of the old books of devotion, the antiphoners and the missals, the grails and the processions, the pies and the portuasis, the journals and the ordinals; as old sixpences, shillings, half-crowns, and crowns are called in to be no longer current, but to make way for a new and brighter coinage. How must Bonner have wept, as I and my friends still weep, over the second service book of King Edward, from which prayers for the dead and every expression which upholds our favorite opinion, that an actual and unbloody sacrifice is offered in the Sacrament of the Altar, were utterly and entirely and as much as possible excluded. Oh sad changes! changes still unre-scinded! changes which move my Tractarian friends to weep with Bonner and myself. The water at baptism was now no longer consecrated. The white vestment was no longer presented to the child. The Devil was no longer adjured to come out of the infant. The very word Altar was abolished, and changed into the "Communion Table." The words "Table," and "Communion Table," and "Lord's Table," as we now still retain them, were eleven times repeated in the Communion Service of the

Church. These are the doctrines which distinguish my friends and myself from the more degenerate and Ultra-Protestant Clergy of this day. They are satisfied with these changes. We desire to restore Prayers for the Dead, the antient doctrine of an actual sacrifice in the Eucharist, and the primitive customs which so soon became the laws of the Church at the Sacrament of Baptism. These at least are our first changes. How many more we might demand as the old light breaks in upon our modern darkness we cannot say. How must Bonner have reviled, as I and my friends revile, though in milder, softer, sweeter language than Bonner—the conduct of Cranmer, when he invited foreigners to interfere in the religious controversies of the times.* How must have he mourned to see the celibacy of the Clergy removed by the Statute Law, and the general publication of the Articles of Religion, which we hope to reconcile with the doctrines to which we are opposed, on liberal, I mean Catholic principles.† Some bright hopes, however, comforted Bonner before the reign of the slandered Mary “*came as a relief*” to such changes. Bonner saw the punishment of the Protector under whose

* My friend, Mr Cardwell, if I may call him so, does not go all lengths with us. Mr Cardwell does not believe that the influence of the German foreigners was so great as we generally suppose. See his Introduction to the comparison between the two Service Books, p. 26.

† See my favourite Tract, No. 90.

influence so many changes had been effected—for without the Protector, Cranmer might still have been powerless. He heard with delight of the firmness of the next heir to the Crown. He contemplated with satisfaction the disgust with which the best friends of the Reformation beheld (when the illness of the young King increased, till his recovery was beginning to be considered as hopeless,) the last Commission issued for the visitation of the Churches, for the seizure for public purposes of all the splendid plate, which the piety and devotion of the congregations had bestowed on them, and the command that only one or two chalices of silver should be left on each communion table or altar for the service of God. This took place in the month of May, 1553. In the following month the act of treason was committed, which assigned the throne to Lady Jane Grey, in place of the Princess Mary, by which all the chief enemies of our dear Bonner and Gardiner were rendered liable to the penalties of that high offence, if the right heir to the crown succeeded. In the next month, July, 1553, Edward VI. died. The innocent usurper, who was proclaimed Queen, was overthrown with her supporters after a short and feverish struggle, and recommitted to the same Tower as a prisoner, which she had entered but a few days before as a Queen;* and Mary, the calumniated, orthodox-Catholic Mary, the friend

* See an interesting work on this subject—Ainsworth's Tower of London.

with Froude and my brethren of Bonner and Gardiner, the "*providential check*"* to the Reformation, ascended the throne of England. Bonner was speedily released from his imprisonment, and *his* principles, the *old* principles, the principles which to a certain extent we admire, the principles of the Church of Rome, were fully and freely carried out. They were carried out to the utmost, that England might see, and ever, ever, remember the invaluable remedy for all her internal dissensions, discussions, and controversies in matters of religion ; namely, the refuge which is still offered in the bosom of the Holy Church, which I and my friends acknowledge to be *our Mother* and *our Sister*. As our Mother, she is unchangeable in her love : as our Sister, Rome is unchangeable in her invitations and attentions to our ungrateful Church and nation. She is unchangeable too in her principles, though she is not unchangeable in her power. That variable power was lessened under Henry and Edward. It was restored under Bonner and Mary ; and we must now go on to see the *remarkable and peculiar manner* in which the revival of the power and principles of the Church of Rome among us increased at once the happiness of the people, and the purity of religion : and how it accomplished, therefore, the unity, the peace, and religious perfection of the people, the great objects for which the governments of the world are established and ordained by God. The review

* British Critic, No. 59, p. 5.

of the history of Bonner, during the reign of Mary, will convince us of the heinousness of the "*sin of 1668.*" It will prove to us the absurdity of the last prayer of Edward VI., "*Oh Lord! preserve this land from papistry.*" It will demonstrate to us the folly of the twin cries—in Ireland of "*no surrender,*" and in England of "*no popery.*" It will place in a new point of view, the doctrines and the labors, the language and the professions, of myself, and of my friends, the only real, true, sound, orthodox, High-Churchmen, the Tractarian British Critics.

SECTION III.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF MARY, JULY 6TH OR 22ND, 1553,
TO HER DEATH, 17TH NOVEMBER, 1558.

Bonner had been first committed to the Marshalsea on the 20th of September, 1549 ; and finally remanded there on the 1st of October, when he was deprived of his Bishopric. He continued in prison till the overthrow of Jane, the innocent usurper, “the twelfth day Queen.”

Mary was proclaimed by the Council on the 19th of July. On the 3rd of August* she made her splendid entrance into London, and proceeded, according to the usual custom, to the Tower, where she released Gardiner from confinement. On the 4th the order must have been made for the liberation of Bonner, for he left the Marshalsea on the 5th, and was brought, in public procession,† with the other Bishops who had been imprisoned, to his house at St. Paul's. The next day was Sunday. Whether he was pre-

* Not the 1st, as is usually said.—See Strype, *Eccles. Rem. Oxon.*, 553, Mary, chapter 1.

† So I understand the expression in Strype, who informs us that both he and the other Bishops were set at liberty, and brought home with him to his palace at St. Paul's.—Strype, *Eccl. Rem.*, p. 17, vol. iii., folio edit., 1721.

vented by illness from attending in his place at the Church, or whether he was present and nothing remarkable occurred, we know not : but on the 13th of August, the next Sunday, he appeared at St. Paul's Cross, where Ridley, three weeks before, had preached a sermon in favour of the usurper. Bonner had commanded his chaplain, Bourne, to preach. It so happened that the celebrated sermon which Bonner had been commanded by the Council, in the reign of Edward, to preach to the people at St. Paul's Cross, had been delivered precisely that time four years before, on the same Sunday, from the Gospel of the day.* Bourne chose the same text which Bonner had previously selected, and took occasion not only to allude to the persecution which his Diocesan had undergone : but justified and vindicated his conduct. "On this very text," he said "the Bishop preached four years before, and for his sermon on the same, he was most cruelly and unjustly cast into the most vile dungeon of the Marshalsea,† and there left during the whole reign of Edward." The Lord Mayor, the Aldermen, Lord Courtenay, who was, at this time, the favourite of the Queen, with many others of high rank, as well as the Bishop himself, were present

* Foxe. There is some confusion in the account of Foxe. Both Strype, *Eccles. Rem.*, p. 21, and Burnet, p. 245, say that Bourne preached on the 13th. Yet Foxe tells us that a man was committed to prison on the 5th, for abusing Bourne, for words spoken at St. Paul's Cross, on the preceding Sunday. Perhaps Bourne preached twice.

† Foxe, vol. vi., p. 391, New Edit., p. 11, p. 14, Ed. 1684.

at the sermon. From justifying Bonner, the chaplain proceeded to impugn the proceedings of the former reign.* Strype says that he did this according to his instructions. Of this we know nothing. He proceeded, however, to express his opinions very freely, as his office entitled and permitted to do, according to the custom of that day; when the pulpit was at once the platform, the newspaper, the review, and the popular society; and he assailed the ecclesiastical proceedings of the late reign. "He accused the doings of the former reign, "and made such reflections upon things that were dear "to the people, that it excited a general commotion." One Ultra-Protestant interrupted the preacher to affirm that Bonner had preached abominable doctrine.† Others more excited than the rest began to climb up into the pulpit, to pull him down.‡ Such an uproar§ began, such shouting at the sermon, such casting up of caps, that a bystander, who kept a journal of the events of the day,|| affirmed that the people seemed to be mad, and much mischief would have been done, if the Mayor and his brethren had

* By comparing the several historians, I infer that he began his sermon by alluding to the fact, that Bonner had chosen the same text from the Gospel of the day, and that he spake of his imprisonment, and then of its causes, and this led him to the attack on the memory of Edward which caused the tumult.

† Collier, vol. ii, p. 345.

‡ Collier.

§ Strype.

|| Strype.

not been present. No authority of the magistrates could restrain the Ultra-Protestant zeal from displaying itself in its true colors. While the preacher was meditating his withdrawal from the scene, and when Bradford, who was afterwards punished, as one of the "*embodied evils*" of heresy, came forward and endeavoured to calm the tumult, by quoting the passages from the Epistle to the Romans, which command every soul to be subject to the higher powers, one of the more furious of his hearers threw a dagger at Bourne; and Bourne was hurried out of the congregation, lest he should be murdered on the spot. All this took place before any laws had been re-enacted by the Parliament against heresy. It is not too much to say, that Bonner's life as well as that of his chaplain was endangered. So great was the rage of the Ultra-Protestant party, that Bradford, as well as Bourne, was compelled to leave the congregation. Bourne was conveyed through the crowd with great difficulty, and taken for shelter to St. Paul's School, which was near the place of preaching.

I shall not stop here to consider the proclamations which had been issued, for liberty of conscience, on the very day preceding this outrage. Mary had openly declared that though her own conscience was decided in matters of religion, she was resolved not to compel nor force others, otherwise than as God should persuade them, by means of godly, virtuous, and learned preachers, to put into their hearts the resolution to adopt her conclusions.* After this out-

* Burnet, p. 245.

rage, the Queen ordered the Lord Mayor, as she was bound to do, to see that such tumults did not again occur. She commanded that the people should attend their parish Churches and keep the peace. On the 18th of August, a proclamation was issued to the same effect, but more extended than that of the 13th. The Queen then said, "that she considering the great danger that had come to the realm, by the differences in religion, did declare for herself, that she was of that religion which she had professed from her infancy, and that she would maintain it during her time, and be glad that all her subjects should charitably receive it : yet she did not intend to compel any of her subjects to it till public order should be taken in it by common consent : requiring all, in the mean while, not to move sedition or unquietness till such order should be settled, and not to use the names of Papist or Heretic, but to live together in love and fear of God ; but if any made assemblies of the people she would take care they should be severely punished ; and she strictly charged them that none should preach or expound Scripture, or print any books or plays without her special license ; and required of her subjects that none should presume to punish any on pretence of the late rebellion, but as they should be authorized by her : yet she did not thereby restrain any from informing against such offenders ; she would be most sorry to have cause to execute the severity of the law, but she was resolved not to suffer such rebellious doings to go unpunished,

but hoped her subjects would not drive her to the extreme execution of the laws."

I shall not comment on this proclamation till I consider that part of my defence of Bonner which relates to the best mode of persuading the Protestants and Ultra-Protestants of England to adopt Mary's religion, and the Magistrates and Bishops of England to follow Bonner's example.

The restoration of Bonner to the See of London took place as soon as possible after this tumult at St. Paul's Cross. Outrages such as these demonstrated more than any other circumstances the absolute necessity of replacing the Bishop in his diocese as soon as possible. Ridley had been committed to the Tower as a traitor, for preaching on the 16th of July, four weeks before Bourne's sermon in defence of the usurper. A commission was issued on the 22nd of August, pursuant to the petition of Bonner, to enquire whether he had been justly and legally deprived, or rather that having made a legal appeal from the King's Commissioners to the King himself, the deprivation during that appeal was illegal and void, and therefore whether his imprisonment was not illegal. He complained also of the losses, expences, and trouble to which he had been subjected,* and desired both his liberty and compensation. The Commissioners, of whom Bourne, his Chaplain, was one, and Dr. Tregonwell, who was subsequently knighted for his impartiality, was another, met se-

* Strype.

veral times ; and after due deliberation, decided that the sentence of Cranmer, and of the Commissioners in the reign of Edward, was null, unjust, and invalid,* they pronounced him to be restored to his Bishopric, and decreed him indemnity for his losses. Every form of law was observed to the utmost. He was restored to his Bishopric by the Queen, pursuant to the verdict of the Commissioners, and he resumed his functions as Bishop of London on the fifth of September, when the commission, verdict, and decision of the Queen was publicly read in his Cathedral.

Having thus conducted Bonner from his prison in the Marshalsea, to his episcopal throne in St. Paul's, I pause here before I proceed to the review of the details of the conduct which has rendered his name so unpopular among the Ultra-Protestants, and unreflecting portion of the community, to submit to the candid and unprejudiced reader the general principles of my defence of his character and conduct. Neither shall I be deterred from so doing because I find that one of his first letters, written on the sixth of September, the day after the ceremonial of his re-appointment was completed, was not such as I quite approve in a Bishop ; especially when I remember that the notions entertained by Bonner, of the dignity of the priesthood, so much resembled our own. The letter to which I allude was addressed to Mr. Lechmore. "Yesterday (says Bonner) I was re-

* Strype.

stored to my Bishopric, and reposed in the same as fully as I was at any time before I was deprived." I should have wished, I must confess, even if he had expressed himself in the most Ultra-Protestant manner, that the Bishop had here used some phrases descriptive of his gratitude to God, and of his regard for the true Catholic religion. He goes on, however, more in the style of Bishop Newton, who deemed the Church of Rome to be Antichrist, than in that of Cardinal Borromeo, who was of a different opinion. "By the said sentence," he proceeds, "my usurper, Dr. Ridley, is utterly repulsed: so that I would ye did order all things at Ridmerly and Bushy at your pleasure, not suffering *Sheepshead* or *Shipside* to be any meddler there." If we look to one of Ridley's last letters before he was burnt, we shall find that Mr. Shipside was his brother-in-law, and his last farewell is sent to him as "faithful, loving, and trusty to him in all changes, steadfast and friendly to him in the time of his Cross, and ever hearty in God's cause." From these expressions of Ridley, I conclude that Mr. Shipside was an enemy to the cause which Bonner had espoused—that Bonner knew him—and that it was on this account that the Bishop spoke with such apparent contempt respecting him; and this opinion is confirmed by the fact that Mr. Shipside attended Ridley in prison, received from him his gown and tippet when he went to the stake, followed him to the fire, and was the unfortunate means of adding to his sufferings, when he so heaped the fag-

gots over him, that his legs were burnt before the fire could penetrate to the higher parts of his body. Candor obliges me to say, that to this knowledge, by Bonner, of the opinions of Mr. Shippeside, I impute the play on his name which follows :—" I trust (the Bishop proceeds) at your coming up to the Parliament I shall so handle the said *sheeps-heads* and the other *calves-heads*, that they shall perceive their sweet, shall not be without sour, sauce. The day is looked for, that Mr. Canterbury shall be placed where it is meet for him. He has become very humble, and ready to submit in all things, but that will not serve." Having thus written, the letter concludes with the un-Borromeo language to which I have alluded. "Remember the liquor that I wrote to you for. The bearer shall put you in remembrance also of beef and mutton for my house, and thus our Blessed Lord long and well keep ye all. Written in haste this 6th of September." Such was the letter which Bonner wrote to his chief friend, on the day after his restoration to the See of London. If I wish anything in it to be altered, or if it shall be thought strange that I defend the opinions of the man who could write such a letter at such a time, I would remind them that we shall never find a man without faults, and that if we refuse to follow our ecclesiastical guides, because they are not blameless, we shall follow no authority whatever. I am sure, that as many most intolerable faults may be found in Ridley, Cranmer, Latimer, and other advocates of the Re-

formation, so also, some, though more tolerable faults may be found in “those blessed Saints and Martyrs of the Most High, Hildebrand, Becket, and Innocent.” Even these are not quite perfect. Yet I prefer them to the teachers of yesterday. Why, then, shall I not love and value Bonner, though his letter to Mr Lechmore is less grave and reverent, than becomes a restored Bishop, “*our Saviour’s representative.*”*

I come then to the defence of the conduct of Bonner after his restoration to the see of London. My OBJECT, *and that of my friends, is the same as that of Bonner. Our opinions are the same, and the beginning of our proceedings to restore the ascendancy of those opinions is the same.* If we do not now go on to un-Protestantize, Romanize, and Bonnerize the community, it is because we are prevented by the State, which fetters the Church, from carrying out our principles to their full, fair, legitimate extent. “Give me,” said the antient, “the resting place for my lever, and I will move the world.” Give me irresponsible Church authority as the lever which shall rest upon the unseen world, and we will again move this at our

* See the Letter in Burnet,—Records, part ii., b. 2., p. 248.

This Mr Lechmore received from Bonner the lease of the Manor of Bushy. Bishop Ridley had granted the lease to Mr Carr. Bonner, on his restoration, refused to acknowledge the validity of the lease, on the plea that Ridley was an usurper. The account of the trial is in Bullstrode’s Reports. The verdict was in favour of Lechmore and Bonner.—See Strype, Eccles. Mem., An. 1553.

pleasure. But, alas ! the reigns of the blessed Saints and Martyrs, for which I and my friends weep ! the reigns of the *Hildebrands*, *Beckets*, and *Innocents*,* are no more, and even the episcopalians of the Church of England hesitate to restore them. Bonner, however, was one of their own school ; and I only carry out my principles when I defend my favourite Bishop, in that period of his life which has been most subjected to unjust Ultra-Protestant attacks. I again say, that I know my boldness will excite surprise, for no other modern theologian has preceded me in this task but my venerable and dear friend Froude. He, in the letter to which I have before alluded, is the only modern theologian not professedly a member of the Church of Rome, who eulogizes Bonner. Yet even he has done so enigmatically.† He only says, *as far as I have gone* (that is in his reading of Strype), *I think better than I was prepared to do of Bonner*. My friend does not tell us how far he had read, and I dare not compare the extent of my reading with his. Whether I have read more or less than my friend, I know not : but this I know, that so far as I have read, I am prepared on the “Tractarian British Critic” principles, to defend the conduct of Bonner, even in the days of Mary. I feel that I cannot defend him throughout. The time has not come. Perhaps it never will come. Still I defend him, and I first do so, because of the re-

* Vide Supra.

† Remains of Froude, part i., p. 251.

markable fact I have mentioned, that the objects of Bonner are the same, as those of our Tractarian British Critics.

Our objects are indefinite—so were those of Bonner. They are indefinite to this extent—that we have not yet fixed upon our pattern age or pattern period to which we would endeavor to bring back our countrymen. Neither do we learn that Bonner had formed any scheme of this kind. Our object is best expressed by saying—that we are dissatisfied with our present Prayer Book, because it both omits Prayers for the Dead, and making the Eucharist a sacrifice ; and we long to have another Liturgy, “*that precious possession the old Catholic ritual, the loss of which we deplore :** *we have lost that possession, and if we have not only lost that possession, but a sense also of its value ; it is a serious question with us, whether we are not like men who recover from some grievous illness, with the loss or injury of their sight or hearing ; whether we are not like the Jews returned from captivity, who could never find the rod of Aaron, or the ark of the covenant, which had indeed been ever hid from the world, but was removed from the temple itself.*”† Bonner would, I am sure, have agreed with us in thinking thus. He regarded the second Service Book of King Edward, and

* See Tract 34, ad Scholas. I must remember, if I ever publish a new edition of this Tract, to page it. *This Tract is not paged.*

† Tract 34, p. 78.

the Church of England, as it was left by that King (and restored by Elizabeth), with more unpleasant feelings than we do. He would have restored more of the old Catholic ritual than we should do—but if we, who have been so long accustomed to the English Prayer Book (and because we have been accustomed to it, do not vehemently recommend any alterations, at least, not at present, in it,) *regard it as a remodelling, and altering of the antient forms of worship, the antient Liturgies and usages, and naturally shrink from the idea,** how much more must Bonner have shuddered at the thought of the second Prayer Book of King Edward, and rejoiced at the prospect of its overthrow. If we exert ourselves to the utmost, as we have done, both in poetry and prose,† to make the people of England return to the use of the best part of the Roman Breviary, which Gregory VII., the *calumniated Saint of the Most High*, restored and harmonized;‡ how must Bonner have been gratified with the prospect. We consider that the *remodelling of the antient Liturgies in our Service Book, impairs the filial affection and respect, which is due to HER, that is, to Rome, from*

* Tract 86, p. 5.

† See some part of the beautiful Christian Year, the *Lyra Apostolica*, and other verses in the *Brit. Mag.* See also our pleasing Tract, No. 76, on the Roman Breviary, as embodying the substance of the devotional services of the Church Catholic. Bonner would have defended all—we do not—at least at present.—See p. 23.

‡ Tract 75, on the Breviary, p. 5.

whence we have received our spiritual birth in one Sacrament, and our bread of life in another. We acknowledge, indeed, that, "obedience to her as standing in the nearest of parental relations, is a part of that charity without which even the understanding of mysteries and knowledge avail not. When our thoughts refer to earlier and better times, we are, of course, filled with some sad reflections at the melancholy contrast, looking upon the later Church as "the second temple," and in the words of holy Herbert, "deserving tears ;" or in the more sacred words in the Prophet Haggai, "Is it not in your eyes in comparison of it as nothing?"†*

We consider the antient service, the old Catholic ritual, as the first temple. We consider the present Prayer Book as the second temple. We have built it, and we rejoice—but we mourn for the first temple. We remember the *intrinsic majesty and truth* which remain in the Church of Rome, amidst its corruptions,‡ and we weep, therefore, over the old Liturgies, which have been altered till we possess only our present Prayer Book. The Ultra-Protestant rejoices over that book, as if there had been no antient Liturgies. We cannot so rejoice, and if *we* cannot do so, how much less could Bonner? How much rather did he not feel elated at the prospect of rebuilding the first temple, and overthrowing the second.

* Tract 86, p. 5.

† Tracts, Vol. V., p. 5, No. 86.

‡ Tract, 74, p. 4.

We do not desire entirely to overthrow the second as he did. We will wish it to continue for some time longer till our principles make further progress. But we trust the day will come, when we, also, shall exult as he exulted, when he saw the old system restored, and the second temple overthrown. The only difference in the parallel between the first and second temples of the Jews, and the first and second temples of ourselves and Bonner, is this ; that the Jews rejoiced when they saw the second temple completed, and they wept when they remembered the first, and in this they resembled the Ultra-Protestants in the reign of Mary. Bonner and ourselves, on the contrary, weep over the second temple, and rejoice to restore the first. I defend Bonner on this point, to this extent only, that he desired to build that antient Catholic system, which I have called by way of distinction from the present Church of England, "the First Temple." He desired to reform, that is, to re-establish in England the foundations of the first temple—prayers for the dead—the Roman Breviary—the doctrine of an actual sacrifice in the Eucharist—and all the things which we desire also to restore. He differed with us in this respect only. That he would have rebuilt, and he did rebuild, many of the pinnacles and battlements which he deemed an essential part of the temple of God, but which we do not. The question between Bonner and ourselves, therefore, is not one of principle, but of degree. We would not build quite so much as he did, but we do

with him feel very anxious to make the second temple which our Reformers built, as much like the first temple as we can. The difficulty is to discover the precise model of the first temple. We cannot quite agree upon the exact plan. We are architects of the same school of design, but we are not fully agreed on the outline or the elevation, the interior or exterior, of the house we would build. This only we are agreed upon, that the second temple which our Reformers have created does not please us ; and we are resolved, slowly, gradually, and patiently, with all submission to expostulation and reproof, with all contempt for ridicule, with silence when we cannot answer, with scorn for all who differ with us, and with canonizing praise of those who do agree with us ; we are resolved to persevere till the second temple is more perfectly reformed after the model of the first ; and the work of Cranmer, Ridley, Bucer, Peter Martyr, and the Ultra-Protestant Convocations of Edward the Sixth shall be changed till we are satisfied. If we do not thus restore the second temple to the model of the first, I would ask, why were our Tracts written at all ? The second temple was built—it is built. The people, we must say, have long, too long indeed, been satisfied with its fair proportions. They go round about our Jerusalem, and tell the towers thereof. They mark well her bulwarks, that they may tell them that come after, and pray for the peace of their Jerusalem—but the city is still the second city—its walls are not its first

walls—its temple is still the second temple, and, therefore, our Tracts are written to change all. If this is not so, why, I again ask, why were our Tracts written? The Protestant people did not ask for them. The Clergy did not require them. The young men were taught by their elders, and their elders were taught by the Fathers of the second temple, who were the Reformers of the first. All but ourselves were content with the Church as it is; we alone desired to make it such as those Reformers had not left it, and such as we think it ought to be. We alone thought that the Church demanded a second reformation. In the exercise of our own private judgment—(we deride the private judgment which is not ours)—we resolved to change the second temple. We are resolved, if we cannot pull down and destroy the second temple, to alter it as much as we can to the resemblance of the first temple, and never to rest till we recover the lost rod of Aaron, and the lost ark of the covenant. We are resolved, above all things, to restore "Altars" and remove "Tables;" to revive the actual sacrifice, and to destroy the mere commemorative feast, upon a sacrifice which is past and not present. We will restore prayers for the dead also as a portion of our communion with the Catholic Church. We will remove the present Ultra-Protestant prayers, to establish in their place the Catholic ritual, and the antient liturgy, and the approvable selections from the Breviary, which I have republished for this express purpose. We would remove, as Bonner would

have removed them, the ten commandments; for "*the introduction of these into the inner sanctuary of our worship is an anomaly. The Jews' Decalogue was never used in the service of the Christian Church, in any liturgy, old or new, before the liturgy of Edward the Sixth.*"* In all these plans we agree with Bonner, and, because we thus agree, we praise and we defend him.

My second reason for defending Bonner is, that as our object is the same—so also are our opinions. I do not of course refer to those opinions which are authoritatively pronounced by the Church of England, or by the Church of Rome, to be the articles of faith of the respective Churches, neither do I refer to those opinions which are common to Bonner, to ourselves, and the principal theologians of the Church of England, whether they be in our articles or not. I refer to those pious opinions which are common to Bonner, to ourselves, and to the chief doctors of the Church of Rome. Now these opinions, and indeed all other theological opinions, may be divided into three parts,—those which relate to the object of worship in the visible world—those which relate to the soul of man in the present visible world—and those which relate to the communion and modes of communion, between the object of worship and the soul, and between the world that is visible and the world that is invisible. In opinions relating to each

* Tract 86, p. 60, and note.

of these, we, the Tractarian British Critics, agree with Bonner.

I begin with the objects of worship. Omitting that of the blessed Trinity, in which Rome, England, Bonner, myself, and my friends alike unite, I first fix upon the presence of Christ in the Sacrament of the Eucharist. The Ultra-Protestant professes to believe only in the commemorative and figurative sacrifice of the Eucharist. He believes in the spiritual presence alone. We boldly say with our beloved and ever estimable friend Froude, that "*I am more and more indignant at the Protestant doctrine on the subject of the Eucharist, and think that the principle on which it is founded is as proud, irreverent, and foolish, as that of any heresy, even Socinianism.*"*

These are my friend's words, and I add, therefore, with him, that "*I should like to know why we flinch from saying that the power of making the body and blood of Christ is vested in the successors of the Apostles.*"†

If it is vested in them, then I believe that they may use that power, and make Christ's body, and therefore I believe with my friend Dr. Pusey,‡ that "*there*

* Froude's Remains, part 1, p. 391.

† Froude's Remains, part 1, p. 326.

‡ I am sorry my friend Dr. Pusey shrinks so painfully, and in a manner so cowardly, from the unavoidable inference, from his own doctrine. He visited the Churches of the Roman communion in Dublin. The Host was on the "Altars." They do not there call the Lord's board "Tables." That Host was, he believed to be, the sacrifice of the body and blood of Christ. Dr. Milley, therefore, naturally believed that Dr. Pusey adored

is a true, real, spiritual presence of Christ at the Holy Supper, independent of our faith."* I agree with the declaration, that the doctrine or oblation of the early Church was this, that in the Eucharist an oblation or sacrifice was made by the Church to God, under the form of bread and wine.† These are my opinions, and I beg my reader to remember that, as the Council of Trent had not yet commissioned the Pope to draw up the Creed, which the Protestants continue to reject, therefore it is, that the doctrine of the Eucharist maintained by Bonner, could not be the precise decision of the Council of Trent, and I ought not, therefore, as I have argued in the ninetyeth Tract, to be considered as a Papist, because I am identified with the pre-Trentine Popery. See, then, how entirely Bishop Bonner agrees with us, and we with him.

Did Bishop Bonner object to the ordination service of Edward the Sixth, because no authority is

it, and he told his friends so. Dr. Pusey quotes our 81st Tract, p. 47, to prove he did hold the *doctrine of the Eucharist to be the same when Transubstantiation is held and when it is not*. He quotes also a passage in his letter to the Bishop of Oxford (p. 135), to prove that he disclaimed the adoration of the Holy Eucharist. But if our friend Froude is right, that the body and blood of Christ is made by the Apostolical successor, and is there present on the altar, why does my friend refuse to adore it; whether Transubstantiation be true or false? I will not refuse to do so, if, if, it be there.—See Dr. Pusey's letter to a friend, dated Christ Church, Oxford, Sept. 7, 1841.

* Dr. Pusey's letter to the Bishop of Oxford, p. 120.

† Tract 81, vol. iv., No. 84, p. 94.

given to the priests to offer the body and blood of our Saviour in the Mass?* We also object to the Prayer Book of Edward. We also, who agree with Froude, believe that as the Apostolical succession are empowered to make the body and blood of Christ, that power ought to be expressly mentioned in our services, as they are named in those of Rome. "My Lords," said Bonner, in the examination of Philpot,† "he hath spoken manifest heresy against the blessed Sacrament of the Altar, when he would not allow the real presence of the body and blood of Christ in the same: and wilt thou not say that Christ is really present in the Sacrament?"‡ When Bonner is exalting the dignity of the priesthood,§ his principal argument is derived from the opinion of our friend Froude—that the priest by five words does make the body and blood of Christ.|| Thou hast expressly said, was his address to others of the Ultra-Protestant Martyrs,¶ that in the Sacrament of the Altar there is *not* the very body and blood of our Saviour Christ, really, substantially, and truly—and so I could go on and prove, if mere tediousness did not prevent me, from almost every examination by Bonner of the *Marian* Reformers,

* See Collier's *Eccles. History*, vol. 2, p. 283, col. 1, ed. 1714, folio.

† Froude, vol. 7, p. 630.

‡ Examination of Philpot, ap. Foxe.

§ Speech to the Convocation. Foxe, vol. 6, p. 433.

|| Foxe, vol. 6, p. 433.

¶ Foxe, vol. 6, p. 716

*with whom, as I have said, I have but little sympathy,** that the doctrine of the presence of the body and blood of Christ made by the Apostolical successors, was the touchstone by which to test the orthodoxy or heterodoxy of the votaries of the Catholic or of the Ultra-Protestant cause; and in all this, in principle, though not in the unessential detail, Bonner and ourselves are united.

Were Saints and the Virgin worshipped or invoked by Bonner? *I think people were injudicious, says my friend Froude, who talk against the Roman Catholics for worshipping Saints and honoring the Virgin and Images—these things may, perhaps, be idolatrous—I cannot make up my mind about it.†* I agree with my friend, and, therefore, I speak cautiously, when I say that the *invocation of Saints is only a dangerous practice, as tending to give, and often actually giving to creatures, the honour and reliance due to the Creator alone.‡* It is true that I have republished the Breviary§ of the Church of Rome, in which are many prayers addressed to the Saints and to the Virgin, who is requested as the Holy Mother of God to pray for us; but we only publish these, as selecting matter for our private devotions, and we assure our readers, that these portions of the

* British Critic, ut supra.

† Froude, p. 294.

‡ Tract 38, p. 12.

§ Tract 75.

Breviary carry with them, in the judgment of the English Christian, their own plain condemnation.*

From the agreement between Bonner and myself in our opinions on the object of worship, I will briefly turn to those which refer to the soul of man and the means of grace.

The Ultra-Protestant believes that the soul, after the death of the body, is unaffected by the prayers of the living. We believe that our Church does not discourage prayers for the dead—we are anxious to restore them.† “Thou hast thought,” is an accusation of Bonner to his prisoners, “that prayers to the Saints, or prayers to the dead, are not allowable by God’s word, or profitable in any way, and that the souls departed do straitway go to Heaven or to Hell.”‡

The chief means of grace are the Sacraments and the Scriptures, the preaching of the Gospel, the institutions of the Church, the instructions of the Priests, and the observances of the Lord’s day.

With respect to the Sacraments, Bonner believed more than we do—we profess to believe only two. I have said, that “*till Rome moves towards us, it is quite impossible that we should move towards Rome.*”§ Yet I do regret that some things in our administration

* Tract 75, p. 9.

† Tract 72 and 75.

‡ Foxe, v. 8, p. 313.

§ Tract 75, p. 23.

of the Sacraments are changed from the antient rituals, and I would desire, with Bonner, that in Baptism should be revived the exorcism of the Devil—the restoration of the Chrism, and the use of more decided language in the Holy Communion. I would restore the sentences I have already referred to from the first Prayer Book of King Edward, and make some appropriate changes on the subject of the sacrifice, the altar and the presence. The present Prayer Book, how deeply I grieve over the fact, enumerates the words “the Table” or the Lord’s Table, eleven times in the rubric of the Communion Service, and does not once mention the word “Altar.” Who can be surprised at Bonner’s indignation at Ridley, the author of this intolerable outrage?

Are the Scriptures another means of grace? The Anglican Church permits them to be read in our services, and the time has not come for expelling them; though so long as they are regularly read, the Old Testament once every year, the New Testament three times, and the Psalms twelve times; so long shall we find it to be impossible to re-establish our more favourite opinion, that the dignity of the priesthood is so great, that it ought to govern by authority, and make the people regard the Creeds as the deposits of the faith, *to be accepted on authority antecedent to proof*;* and so long also will they refuse to receive our pious opinions on prayers

* Pusey’s Letter, Preface p. 4.

for the dead, and on the sacrifice in the Holy Eucharist. We believe of the Scriptures, that "*to make them the sole rule in deciding upon matters essential to salvation is a trumpery principle:*"* and that for the various reasons enumerated by me elsewhere,† and which are too long to detail at present, no man can learn his religion from the Bible alone, for that "*Scripture and Tradition, taken together, are the joint rule of Faith,*"‡ and tradition, therefore, must be blended with Holy Scripture, as well as be subservient to it.§ Bonner rejoiced to act on these opinions. He refused to be judged by the New Testament, when an Ultra-Protestant challenged him to that trial of the truth of his doctrines; and boldly replied, "that the Heathen writers," (referring, perhaps, to Aristotle,) "had taught many good precepts, but these writings were not esteemed God's word."||

Is preaching an ordinance of God? We tell the Clergy that their preaching must be cautious and guarded—that though the atonement of Christ, that is, his whole work, of which his death was only a part, from the portion of eternity which is past, to the portion of eternity which shall be ended by his giving up the mediatorial kingdom to God, is the one only

* Froude I., p. 415.

† British Critic. Article on second part of Froude's Remains. On the Bible without note or comment, No. 54, p. 396-426.

‡ Tracts, v. 4, No. 78, p. 2.

§ Tracts, vol. 3, p. 40. See also the Article on Catholic Tradition, British Critic, No. 50, p. 450.

|| Foxe, vol. 8, p. 3.

subject of all inspired revelation, the one only object to make known which, the Church itself was founded, or for which one Christian Teacher, Pastor, Pope, Bishop, Priest, or Deacon, from the day of Pentecost to the day of Judgment, is commissioned to preach at all—the only one aim of all the sacrifices both Levitical or patriarchal from the fall of man to the first Advent of Christ in the flesh—yet this atonement we tell them in two of our Tracts,* and in many places of our British Critic, must be taught to their congregations of baptized Christians, with reserve. We assure the Clergy, to whom our chief Tract on this subject was addressed, that “*the prevalent notion of bringing forward the atonement explicitly and prominently on all occasions, is evidently quite opposed to what we consider the teaching of the Scripture, nor do we find any sanction for it in the Gospel.*”† This boldness on our part, and it did indeed require that boldness, which we alone of all modern Theologians possess, to enunciate this our opinion, has called forth that bitter censure which has been so mistakenly heaped upon us from so many persons, beginning with Mr. Townsend, of Northallerton, to the last charge of the Bishop of Winchester. But our great consolation is that Bonner agrees with us in this opinion also. When one of the Ultra-Protestants reminded him, that Christ sent his disciples to teach all nations, Bonner deemed the allusion to be a personal affront. “Thou

* Tracts 80 and 87.

† Tract 80, p. 74.

sayest that," he answered, "because I am no preacher."* We not only preach with reserve, but he would not preach at all. He thought with us, "*that there is an undue preponderance given to preaching.*"† He did not, as the present Bishop of London considers it to be his duty to do, go about his Diocese preaching where he had opportunity. Neither have we any instance on record, of Bonner's preaching the atonement explicitly and prominently. Neither do we suspect any of his brethren of so doing.

Do we consider the Communion Service in our Prayer Book as a defective means of grace to the soul, for the reasons which have been already mentioned? Bonner not only condemned, but burnt, the Ultra-Protestants who approved of that book, and who valued and kept, and used it, without informing their vigilant diocesan. He burnt, for instance, John Rough, in Smithfield, as an Ultra-Protestant, for speaking against the Apostolic See, for corresponding with the exiles, for condemning the Latin service, but, above all, for *reading the Communion Book in the accustomed fashion*, in the latter days of King Edward the Sixth.‡ These are the very words of his accusation. Shall I not love Bonner, with whom I agree so entirely?

I could go on to enumerate many, very many other instances of agreement between ourselves and Bon-

* Foxe, vol. 7, p. 100.

† Tract 80, p. 72.

‡ Foxe, vol. 8, p. 446.

ner. Do we or our friends speak of Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridley with contempt? Bonner never mentioned them but with abhorrence, and punished the poor foolish Ultra-Protestants who admired them.*

Do we affirm that "*visible unity is the main evidence of our religion, and the sign of our spiritual adoption, and that our separation from the rest of Christendom is a plausible ground of attack upon our Church,*"†—this was the argument of Bonner, and it has ever been the argument with his brethren, to induce the non-adherents of the Church of Rome to become attached to its communion. "Why will you be wilful and obstinate in your opinions," said Bonner, to one of the Ultra-Protestant criminals, "why will you not come into the unity of the Church with us?"‡ "Why dost thou refuse," he said to others, "to be reconciled to the unity of the Church?"§

Did Bonner utterly detest and loathe the names of Bucer, Justin Martyr, and other Germans, who were invited to England by Cranmer and his friends? We also despise and condemn their interference. We never mention them but to depreciate them. We never allude to them but with the disrespect they deserve.|| If we must have this interference of Foreigners, we prefer the orthodox Spaniards, or the

* Foxe, vol. 8, p. 445.

† British Critic, No. 59, p. 121.

‡ Foxe, vol. 7, p. 15.

§ Foxe, vol. 7, p. 16.

|| See especially the Tracts on Baptism, by my excellent friend Dr. Pusey, Nos. 67, 68, ad fin.

enlightened Italians of Mary. To the German Foreigners we are, it is said, indebted for the alterations in the old Baptismal and Communion Service, which we still retain in our modern Prayer Books; and which we still deeply regret. To the Italian Foreigners we owe the restoration of the study of the Schoolmen at Oxford. The former helped to give us the Bible and the Prayer Book. The latter helped to give us Aristotle and the Schoolmen. The former enthroned the New Testament in our darkened University. The latter re-enthroned Aristotle and Peter Lombard to enlighten and illumine us. The former Foreigners to this day give us the government of the Brunswicks and Hanovers, which cements and continues the "sin of 1688." The latter to this day give us our dancers and our fiddlers. Some may imagine from this antithesis, that I am wrong in my conclusions respecting their opposite merits, but I defend my opinion by reminding my readers that fiddling and dancing are preferable to heresy and rebellion,—that the maintainers and upholders of the antient faith, who dance and fiddle, are much preferable to the Ultra-Protestants, who refuse to do either; and that such Foreigners, therefore, who contribute to our amusements, without perverting our faith, are as much to be preferred to those who have changed our Prayer Book, as Aristotle and Lombard, to St. Paul, or St. James. Heresy and schism have been derived from St. Paul, but never from Aristotle. Heresy and schism were the gifts

of the Germans Bucer and Martyr, never of the Italians as Commendone and Ormaneto ; never of the Spaniards as Garcia and Soto. The former, as well as the latter, were Professors of Divinity at Oxford ; and Oxford, much to its credit, honor, and renown, still prefers the theology of the unreformed Italian and Spaniard, to the theology of the reforming and hateful German.*

I might enumerate many other particulars of agreement between myself and Bonner, but I must now proceed to the consideration of the other cause of my love for this Bishop, the identity of our plans for obtaining the attachment of others to these our objects and opinions. I must confess that that system of opinions which thus begins with confessing a sacrifice of any kind in the Eucharist, which goes on with prayers for the dead, which gives the Priest the power of making the body and blood of Christ, and adds to that power the authority to preach the atonement with reserve—must be regarded (with the exception of some topics which it would be at present imprudent to bring forward) as identified with that antient system called by the odious Ultra-Protestants “Papistry and Popery.” I cannot avoid being insensible to this fact : but I must not be deterred from carrying out my principles, and from further expressing therefore my love to Bonner ; be-

* See Sharon Turner's History of the Reign of Mary, page 462, vol. 8, History of England, for an account of Ormaneto, Soto, and Garcia.

cause of the similarity between our plans and the plans on which he and his coadjutors proceeded to procure the establishing those opinions among the people. *Four several attempts have been made to restore the influence and ascendancy of this system among us.* Bonner's was the first, our's is the last. The intermediate efforts were the one suggested by the zealous Father Parsons,* and that which was actually attempted by James II., the last legitimate, divinely righted, hereditary King of England, before "*the rebellion of 1688, when the Church of England threw out of her pale, as it were, Christ crucified (together with Kenn and Kettlewell), and before the low tone of morals which now pervades her teaching.*" All these attempts have been made upon one plan. That plan, the plan on which we are now proceeding to recommend our object and opinions to our Church, country, University, and clergy is comprised in that one selected expressive word by which our beloved friend Froude describes our whole design, and to which I have so often alluded—it is the "*poisoning system.*" Mary (at the beginning of her reign), Parsons, James, and ourselves, all employ the *poisoning* system. We all hold the same pious opinions. We all find these pious opinions to be regarded with the most painful prejudice by the Ultra-Protestants around us. We are not convinced

* See the Jesuits' Memorial for the intended Reformation of England, published from the copy presented to King James the Second, by Edmund Gee. London, 1690.

by their misapprehensions that we are ourselves wrong. We continue to hold them. When a Christian is convinced that his opinion, though rejected by the multitude, is rightly held by himself, and is pleasing and acceptable to God, it is his bounden duty not to conceal nor be ashamed of that opinion. He will next endeavour to render it influential. If he is invested with authority and power, he will endeavour to surround its influence with the sanction of law. He will desire to see it prevail among all classes. He will aim at his establishment and ascendancy. The public law must then claim obedience. That obedience must be enforced. The penalties which enforce it must at first be gentle, then ungentle, then severe, then peremptory, then more compulsory. This was the manner in which Mary, Parsons, and James, to a greater or less degree, acted. On this plan we are commencing our operations. We are now only commending our private opinions to the Church. Mild, bland, soothing, courteous, watching our opportunities, insinuating our disapprobation of the Reformers, eulogizing men whom the Reformers despised, we are endeavouring, as we are, I think, required to do, in conscience, honor, principle, and justice, to rebuild the first temple, and to overthrow the second. Mary, Parsons, James, had the same object in view. Mary alone was successful. Mary alone restored the ark of the covenant and the broken altars. Parsons was exiled. James was dispossessed. We are opposed by the same Ultra-Protestant

influence, which urges against us the same watch-words of "Liberty," "Popery," "The Constitution in Church and State," "The Union of the Church and State," "The Church as it is," with many others of the same nature. We are not daunted. We shall still persevere. The lessons of history shall be the beacons to enable us to guide our vessel among the rocks, shoals, and quicksands over which it was formerly wrecked by Mary, Parsons, and James; and we hope to steer the helm and furl the sails, and wait for fair weather, till we have brought the Anglican Church in safety to that haven where it once found repose under the sheltering protection of Hildebrand, Becket, and Innocent, the blessed Saints and Martyrs of the Most High. We and those best experienced rowers of the bark of St. Peter trust we may make such pilots as these, the captains or guides of our vessel. Then we shall be satisfied; and then alone. I purpose as I proceed with my vindication of Bonner to point out the singular coincidence between the "*poisoning plan*" of Parsons and of James II., and, as far as we have already gone, of ourselves also. The obstinate Ultra-Protestant prejudices of the day prevent us from progressing very rapidly: but so far as we dare, or have been enabled, we have followed the footsteps of these our illustrious predecessors. The *poisoning system* by which the nation became changed in the reign of Mary from the state of religion established at the death of Edward, to that which it was found by Elizabeth, may, I think, be divided into

five portions or stages. They will explain to our admiring readers THE BEST MODE OF CHANGING THE RELIGION OF THE NATION. I shall arrange the remaining events of the life of Bonner according to the development of these five several successive periods ;—they are—

- 1.—Gentleness and Moderation, without any attempt to change the public religion, while the religion of the ruler is maintained only as a pious opinion.
- 2.—The commencement of change by influence.
- 3.—The commencement of change by law.
- 4.—Reconciliation with Rome.
- 5.—The enforcement of change by severity, or by the executing the altered law. By considering the actions of Bonner as an Ecclesiastical Magistrate, laudably and zealously obedient according to his duty—in this more systematic order,—I shall be better able to vindicate his insulted memory, and to defend his principles and conduct.

1.—I begin with the—*Gentleness and Moderation* with which the “*poisoning system*” commences, *without any attempt to change the public religion, while the religion of the ruler is maintained only as a pious opinion.*

I cannot say that either Bonner or Mary disguised their intentions to restore the old ritual. There was indeed but little opportunity to temporize. The nation, at the death of Edward, was divided, as the Ultra-Protestant, Ralph Allerton, (who was afterwards burnt for his obstinacy, though Bonner repeatedly endeavoured to persuade him to recant,) told the

Bishop, into three religions : that which Bonner held—that which was the opposite extreme—and the neuter religion, which was professed by those who outwardly observed all things that were commanded whatever were their inward convictions.* This last party is always more numerous than either of the two others. It is always most influential also in rendering changes permanent, when they have been once effected. It waits the result of events, and can be rendered more quiet, and submissive, than the zealots of either of the two extremes, by the least appearance of decision on the part of their rulers. It became, therefore, the first policy of Mary, to proceed to the second stage of the poisoning system as soon as possible : and we consequently find that the Queen continued to maintain her own religion as a favourite opinion only, for the shortest possible time, that is, for about one month after her accession. Immediately that Mary heard of the death of her brother, she retired into those parts of Suffolk and Norfolk, which she deemed most friendly to her interests. Bonner was still in the Marshalsea. The people of Suffolk were favorers of the Second Service Book of King Edward. In reply to the Queen's appeal to them against the usurper, they told her that their religion required them to assist her as their lawful Sovereign. Mary replied to them by a promise "not to make any alteration in their religion."†

* Strype, *Eccles. Memoir*, Mary, cap. xxxi., folio edit. p. 248.

† Foxe, edit., 1633, vol. 3, p. 13, and edit., 1841, vol. 6, p.

The last English historian, whose religion I prefer to that of the Ultra-Protestants, because he agrees with me on those points where I and my brethren Tractarian Critics differ with them—the historian who is equally candid with ourselves, and quite as much to be depended upon in all matters when the Faith of the Church of England is concerned, I mean Dr. Lingard, endeavours to prove that Mary never made this promise. My candid friend, however, omitted to notice the allusion of Lord Arundel to this declaration, in the speech which he made to the Council at Baynard's Castle. He assured them that there was no appearance that she meant to alter their religion. She had given a contrary intimation. She had lately been petitioned by the Suffolk men, and had given them a very hopeful answer. Dr. Lingard omits also the express assertion of Bishop Godwin upon his own evidence, that the words were these.* I am unable to resist this evidence, and I conclude, therefore, with reluctance, that Dr. Lingard is not more accurate here, than I have found him to be in many other parts of his history. It requires only this kind of accuracy to be a valuable book. I am compelled to believe that this promise to the Suffolk men

307 ; Strype, *Eccles. Mem.*, An. 1553, p. 2 ; Collier's *Eccles. Hist.* fol. edit., 1714, vol. 2, p. 342 ; Sharon Turner's *History of England*, vol. 8, p. 396. note 92, p. 368 ; Lingard's *History of England*, vol. 7, edit. 1833, 161, and note C at the end of the volume.

* Compare the Notes and Texts of Sharon Turner, just referred to.

was actually made. I cannot venture to oppose the general, concurrent, and contemporary testimony of our historians. This promise, then, was made seven days after the death of Edward, before the end of July. On her arrival at the Tower, she released the prisoners who had been confined there for religion. On the 8th of August, Mass was sung in the Tower for the repose of the soul of her brother, the efficacy of prayers for the dead being now merely one of her pious opinions, not sanctioned by the public law. On the 11th of August a speech was made to the Mayor of London on occasion of the tumult at St. Paul's Cross, that she meant not to compel nor strain other men's consciences otherwise than God should convince them.* Preachers, however, were commanded to take out licenses from the Queen; and on the 18th of August another proclamation was issued, in which the former indulgence was limited; and though the time had not come to make the change in religion which she purposed by law, she began to effect that change by influence. She declared what was her own religion (her own pious opinions) which she "was minded to observe† and maintain for herself "during her life, and she would be glad the same "were of all her subjects quietly embraced: yet that "of her gracious disposition and clemency, she mind-

* My friend Dr. Lingard quotes this speech from the *Archæology* xviii, 137. He might have found it in its place in Foxe, vol. 6, page 392, or vol. 3, page 16, folio edit., 1683.

† Strype, vol. 3, p. 25.

“ed not to compel any of her subjects thereunto, “until such time as further order by common consent, might be taken therein.” (That is, as soon as she might compel them by authority of Parliament she would.) She forbad all her subjects, at their peril, “to move sedition, or stir unquietness, by the interpreting the laws of the land according to their brains and fancies. She willed them to live together in quietness and Christian charity; and forbear those *new formed* devilish terms (as the proclamation calls them) of Papist, or Heretic, and such like.”

During the whole of this time Bonner performed no recorded act of ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Many persons were apprehended by order of the Council, but not by the Bishop. These, however, were mostly identified with some of the tumults that had taken place, and though the Queen’s wish was known, *the second stage of the poisoning system had not begun*. She had only proceeded so far as we, with a similar object in view, have proceeded. We, too, deprecate the perpetual opposition of the Ultra-Protestant preachers, to the peculiarities of the Church of Rome, and the consequent exasperation of the adherents to that Communion. We deem it to be a piteous spectacle to see Christian brethren, heirs of the same peace,* and partakers of the same hope, “*biting and devouring one another : each striving to outdo his antagonist in vehemence of railing, and variety of accusation ; mutually dealing out such frightfully*

* British Critic, No. 59.

significant words as 'heretic,' 'apostate,' 'idolater', 'antichrist,' with as little appearance of hesitation or remorse, as actors in a play; though often, we fear, with a very real bitterness of spirit." We would have all persons abstain from thus speaking. We agree with Father Parsons, that if we would effect our plans of changing the religion of the country by *unprotestantizing the nation*, we must remember how generally and deeply it has been plunged into all kinds of heresy, and not to press any man's conscience *at the beginning* for matters of religion for some few years.* We remember with the proclamations of James the Second, at his accession, "that "he would make it his endeavour to preserve the "government, both in Church and State as it is by "law established," and that "he would always take "care to defend and support the Church."† He, too, concealed his object of effecting a change in religion as soon as possible. He, too, as Mary did, attended Mass, because of his private opinions, and there is no doubt that this ill-used King, to whose family, the advocates of the divine rights of Kings may be said still to owe their allegiance, would have kept his word to his people most faithfully. *He would have maintained what the law established; but like us he would have altered the law.* He would have always taken care to defend and support the Church; but he would have so managed the "poisoning system,"

* Parsons' Memorial, p. 32.

† See address of James the Second.

that he would have made the Church he defended and supported very different, at the end of his reign, from the Church he defended and supported, at its commencement.

2.—The second period of the “*poisoning system*,” when the Queen commenced her efforts to restore the antient ritual by influence, and not by law, occupied also so short a time that we have but little to record of Bonner. The Bishop, we may be assured, like a loyal subject, lost no opportunity of promoting the wishes of his Sovereign, and extending his own pious opinions. Parsons recommends that all who have this same object in view should abuse the Reformers, especially Jewell,* which both my beloved exemplar, and perpetual friend Froude has done,† and which I also have no less incessantly done, especially in my favorite number.‡ Parsons advises the establishment of a Council of Reformation, which shall be constantly watchful over the business of education, and particularly endeavor to obtain influence over the minds of young men at the University. He recommends the treating with apparent indifference and contempt, all the Ultra-Protestants as schismatics and heretics. Our favorite Saint, Cardinal Borromeo, always advised his clergy to speak of them in the same manner, as poor wretches; not to attempt to take off their arguments lest perchance their hearers might be perverted; but

* Parsons' Memorial, p. 42.

† Froude's Remains, part 2.

‡ British Critic, No. 59, first article.

to speak of them uniformly with contempt and pity.* All this advice we have followed to the letter. Our union of brethren at Oxford, the Committee who have joined with me in publishing our influential Tracts, have been called a conspiracy ; and we rejoice in the contumely which proves, in these evil days, our orthodoxy, against the Ultra-Protestants. No less did our beloved Sovereign James the Second, before the "sin of 1688" separated him from the Church he would have improved, and from the people who were so ungratefully blind to his patriotic zeal to convert them, endeavour, by influence, to change the religion of his Ultra-Protestant subjects. He could not alter the law, and he therefore dispensed with it. The Court of High Commission, the closetings with his officers, the bestowal of rewards and honors on those who supported his measures, the attempt to place among our Fellows at Magdalen and in other offices of the University, persons who had conformed to the services of the old Catholic ritual ; and who preferred the first temple to the second temple of Ridley, Latimer, Cranmer, and Edward the Sixth, are too well known to be repeated here. All, however, was conducted on the "*poisoning system*." Mary, also, and with her the beloved of her soul, our favourite Bonner, for a very short space adopted this part of our system. It was not necessary, indeed, to do so for any length of time, because

* In universum dicant miseros esse hereticos, &c., ap. Turner ut sup., p. 464.

the Parliament met in October on the 5th or 10th,* and razed at once to the ground that fabric of the second temple which Edward and Cranmer had raised; but which was rebuilt by Elizabeth, and which still flourishes among us. *Yet before the law was altered the Queen had used her influence in the most unsparing manner.* Licenses to preach were granted by Gardiner.† Cranmer was imprisoned for boldly acknowledging the authorship of a paper on the Mass. The pestiferous foreigners, who had been the cause of so much mischief to our Prayer Book, were commanded to leave the kingdom. The coronation took place on the 10th of October, and two Bishops, who refused to attend the Mass which was performed, were expelled from the house. The Court openly interfered at the elections to procure the return of burgesses and knights who should repeal the laws of Edward concerning religion. Consultations were held at Rome, after the commissioners had been sent to the Pope from Mary, on the best method of restoring the first temple again in England; and the resolution of the Queen to restore what the Duke of Northumberland had called, on the scaffold, the antient faith, became so evident, that the Ultra-Protestants began, as the result too soon proved, to prepare for rebellion or exile, submission or punishment. *So ended the second stage of the poisoning system,*

* See Strype, compared with Foxe.

† Burnet, Reformation, part 2, vol. 2, p. 247.

in which I find nothing recorded of Bonner which the most zealous of my Ultra-Protestant antagonists will venture to condemn.

3.—We are brought, then, to the third stage of the Froudian, or “*poisoning system*,” by which the religion of a country is to be altered : the change to be effected by the public law. In England this can only be done by the Parliament. The first attempts of Mary to accomplish the alteration of religion in England by means of the public law, before she endeavoured to effect a reconciliation with Rome, which is the fourth stage of the poisoning system, may be said to have continued from October, 1553, when they first assembled ; till St. Andrew’s-Day of the year following, which was called the feast of the reconciliation. Our favourite Bishop, Bonner, was actively employed through the whole of this period, though the more peculiar severities which we always endeavour to keep in the back ground as much as possible, had not begun. My defence of Bishop Bonner, through this period, will rest entirely on his obedience to the public law. If any blame is to be affixed to the efforts which we shall make to rebuild the first Temple, that blame must rest on the altered law, and not on Bishop Bonner.

Here, also, I must pause, to consider the progress which we, and the other enemies of Ultra-Protestantism have already made, and the prospects which we may have of ultimate success.

By carefully expressing our hatred of what the

Ultra-Protestants call Popery, while we advocate the pious opinions, which are held by the members of the Church of Rome, we are beginning to accomplish the very important object of persuading the congregations of the younger clergy and of ourselves, that to invoke the Saints, is not Popery—to esteem Hildebrand, Becket, and Innocent, as Saints and Martyrs of the Most High, is not Popery—to pray for the dead—to uphold a real sacrifice in the Eucharist, and to maintain that God has granted to his Priests the power both to “*make the body and blood of Christ*”—to teach and to preach these things—and then to exclude from the communion of the body and blood of Christ, every believer in the religion of the New Testament, who does not receive them—are not Popery ; and we are evidently preparing the way, therefore, for the reception of our own degree of proposed change. This change we must never allow to be Popery—till the time comes when we may acknowledge that “a rose by any name would smell as sweet.” *We can only hope to change the public law in England, by first changing the public opinion of England.*

The public law among us is the result of the joint influence of the Royal will, and the popular pleasure. In the present instance, the former is dependant on the latter ; so that if we can induce the now prejudiced and bigoted people to adopt our opinions, we shall necessarily restore the throne, to the holder of the offerings of prayers for the dead, and to the

believer in the sacrifice of the Eucharist. To accomplish this object—one plan only is necessary. He who would give laws to the men of the next generation, must first give opinions to the children of the present generation, and those opinions can only effectually be given by means of the Clergy. We have addressed the Tracts and Reviews, therefore, in which we advocate those pious opinions which Papists hold, but which are not by us called Popery, to the younger Clergy. We address them *ad clerum*. We begin with the youth of the University of Oxford. *If we win that stronghold, we obtain the key of the position.* We break down the walls of Troy. We place the horse in the citadel. We call for the serpents which shall devour our Ultra-Protestant Laocoons, and we give them shelter behind the statue of Minerva. We throw the shield of our own high reputation for wisdom and orthodoxy, on the serpent poisoners of those Laocoons, who would warn the alarmed and anxious citizens of their danger. If we can poison the clergy and youth of this generation, we secure the men of the next generation; and we may hope that such a portion at least of the constituency may be with us that we may be able to give the power to an active minority, who are the rulers in every country, to destroy the second temple and to rebuild the first. If England can only be ruined by its Parliament, it can only be blessed by its Parliament. The present system of religion was established by the people. It must be destroyed by the people, and it must be

destroyed by the influence of opinion without the walls of Parliament changing their decisions and the laws within it. Neither does this hope appear quite so visionary as I should have imagined it twenty years ago. The Parliament in the reign of Mary, which completed the rescinding the decrees, and which overthrew the Prayer Book, of King Edward, was returned by the active minority of the people, under Mary's influence. "Those employed by the Court in these elections," says Beal,* "did by violence hinder the Commons from coming to choose—false returns were made—others were turned out of the Commons, and thus a House was procured which restored the Catholic ritual." *When the rulers of States resolve to change the religion of their country, they must run all hazards.* The cause is the cause of God. Their crown is a trifle when compared with the soul, and Mary, like James, said "she would part with her kingdom, rather than lose her soul." James the Second acted on the same plan as Mary, to obtain a House of Commons, which should not oppose him. "All arts," says Burnet,† "were used to manage elections, so that the King should have a Parliament to his mind. Complaints came up from all parts of England of the injustice and violence used in elections, beyond what had ever been practised in former times. In the Charters that had been granted, the

* Ap. Burnet, Reform. part 2, book 2, p. 252 : but see Collier, vol. 2, p. 348. He refuses to give credit to Beal.

† Rapin, vol. 2, p. 745.

election of the members was taken out of the hands of the inhabitants, and restored to the corporation men ; all those being left out who were not acceptable at Court. In some boroughs they could not find a number of men to be depended upon : so the neighbouring gentlemen were made corporation men : and in some places, persons of other counties, not so much as known in the borough, were named. This was practised in the most avowed manner in Cornwall, by the Earl of Bath, who put the names of the Officers of the Guards in almost all the Charters of that county, so that the King was sure of forty-four votes on all occasions. There were not above forty that were chosen." The same advice also is given by Parsons. He points out the manner in which "*a well affected Parliament, which the right time and the good Catholic Prince, whom God will one day send, will easily procure, shall begin anew, to build up from the foundation the external face of our Catholic Church, and to follow the model which themselves will choose ; and if that be a good and perfect model, it will endure, at least, for a time, and be the true pattern of Christianity to the rest of the world, and according to this account must our purpose be of a Reformation.*"* Such is the language of Father Parsons, and it entirely expresses our own plans and projects. Neither do we, indeed, despair of seeing a Parliament assembled which shall make such changes as we propose by our "*poisoning system.*" For not

* Jesuit's Memorial for the conversion of England, p. 16.

only is our scheme of altering the public religion, gradually affecting our youth, our Clergy, and our Universities ; but those enemies of the Ultra-Protestants (I do not call them Papists, but true Catholics,) who invoke Saints, pray for the dead, hold the sacrifice in the Eucharist, and own other pious opinions respecting the claims of the Church and Priesthood to be the sole interpreters of Scripture, are so rapidly increasing among us, that six hundred Chapels decorate what was once called Protestant England : and our brethren of the first temple, who equally or rather more than ourselves dislike the second Prayer Book of King Edward, are rejoicing at the prospect of our conversion. I should but be departing from the reserve and caution, which I deem our "*poisoning system*" requires, if I say more, on the number of Peers, Bishops, Baronets, and wealthy country gentlemen, on whose aid we rely, in that moment when we hope to make more decided efforts to give the force of law to our pious opinions ; and to pull down the second temple.* Mary acted on the same plan, and Bonner was but one of her faithful coadjutors, in restoring the antient faith, as we ourselves should have been, if we had lived in the reign of Mary.

The Parliament met on the 6th of October, and continued its first session till the 21st. Its second

* But see the progress of the system which prays for the dead, and attacks our Prayer Book, and which is nick-named Popery, in a Tract printed from Fraser's Mag. for March and April, 1839. It is called "Statistics of Popery."

session commenced on the 17th of November. The convocation was summoned on the 18th of October, and continued to sit till a letter was sent to Bonner from the Queen, commanding its dissolution. The House of Commons was then considered as the lay synod—the convocation as the ecclesiastical synod, of the people of England, who were believed, as they constituted one State, to constitute also one Church. Laws respecting religion were passed by the Parliament in the first session. Its antient power was restored to the convocation,* which therefore met without the fear of incurring the penalties of Præmunire according to the acts of Henry. In the second session of this Parliament, on the 8th of November, a Bill passed to restore religion to that state in which Edward found it, on his accession. The *present Communion Service*, which my friend Froude so justly calls a judgment on the Church,† and which he so properly desired to see replaced, by a good translation of the Liturgy of St. Peter,‡ together with the second Service Book itself of the Ultra-Protestant King Edward, were both swept away. “The fabric,” says our exulting brother Lingard, “which the ingenuity and perseverance of Cranmer had erected in the last reign, the reformed Liturgy which Edward’s Parliament had

* Strype. I refer generally to Strype’s Eccle. Mem. of the reign of Mary, to Foxe, Burnet, Turner, and Lingard, whose pages I am collating together for the brief history of the period necessary to illustrate the conduct of Bonner.

† Remains, p. 410.

‡ Remains, p. 387.

attributed to the Holy Ghost, was now pronounced ‘a new thing, imagined and devised of singular opinions.’ ”* Acts were passed against conventicles—the people were commanded to attend the restored service, and thus the foundation was laid for the ultimate severity, with which the disobedience of the Ultra-Protestants to the new law eventually rendered it necessary for Bonner to proceed; to prove both his loyalty to the Queen, his attachment to the Catholic ritual, and his proper abhorrence of the Ultra-Protestant union of heresy in the doctrines, and of schism, in the discipline of the Church.

Neither was Bonner empowered to proceed to the rebuilding of the first temple by the statute law alone. The Convocation, the legitimate authorized ecclesiastical deliberative Senate of the Church of England, was no less anxious to pronounce the Communion Service, with my friend Froude, “a judgment on the Church,” and to supersede the Prayer Book, by the antient forms. Those who approve of the principles of myself and brethren, will meet with much to confirm them in their love to our system, in the sermon of Harpsfield, the Chaplain of Bonner, who was appointed preacher to the Convocation—in the addresses of Weston, Dean of Westminster, the Procurator—in the speeches of the Dean of Chichester, and of the Archdeacon of London,—as well as in the harangue of Bonner, who was directed to

* Lingard, 8 Ed. vii., 182-3.

preside in the imprisonment of Cranmer, as the first Bishop of the province of Canterbury. So jealously did our fathers observe the forms of law when they changed the national religion, and so carefully must we proceed in our own favorite Froudian system of poisoning the public mind, if we would eventually succeed in destroying once more the present Church of England; and inducing the people to welcome our pious opinions in one generation, that they may become the laws or the national faith of another. The Convocation met on the sixteenth. The introductory proceedings are mentioned by Strype. The acts of the Synod are related by Foxe, to whom they were communicated by Archbishop Parker.* The Convocation was opened by Harpsfield, who spoke of the days of King Edward, in a manner which fills me with rapture and delight when I read them. He called the Ultra-Protestant preachers of that sad time "wolves, and the butchers of the Lord's flock." "How many pernicious doctrines," he exclaims, "did they bring into this kingdom?† "Neither had ceremonies their use, nor faith its "soundness, nor manners their integrity, and purity. "They framed new sacraments, new rites, a new "faith, and new manners. The sacred Scriptures "they thought were to be understood, not according "to the consent of our elders, but according to the "dreams of their own brains. What license did they

* Strype, *Ecc. Mem.*, p. 47.

† Strype, *E. R.*, p. 41.

“give themselves ! How many places of Scripture
 “did they corrupt ! In what horrible precipices did
 “they throw down both themselves, and as many as
 “followed them ! And because otherwise they could
 “not procure to themselves authority, unless they
 “slandered and laid false accusations to the charge
 “of the Catholic Priests and Bishops, they inculcated
 “lies of them without number. In fine, they had in
 “effect ruined Christ’s religion, and had filled the
 “nation with innumerable errors. The Gospel
 “which so frequently they had in their mouths they
 “fought against in an hostile manner, by their
 “works and their manner of doctrine.”

He afterwards proceeded to direct the course to
 reform these evils, and he told his reverend fathers
 and brethren, that he thought it the wisest course to
 retract those ecclesiastical laws which had been made
 before, and that there was no need of their great labour
 and study to invent new Canons. “He exhorted,”
 says Strype, “that such things might flourish which
 “had been wholesomely instituted by their ancestors,
 “and which had flourished before the innovation of
 “things ; which being before observed kept the
 “people in their duty ; but lately being neglected, a
 “casement was opened to heresy, schism, and to all
 “licentiousness.” After proceeding much in this
 strain, he then goes on to recommend my own favor-
 ite notion, that the second temple be destroyed, and
 the first temple, the old Catholic ritual (for the law
 for the abolishing of the Prayer Book and Commu-

nion Service had not yet passed) be restored. He exhorted them to build up the tabernacle of God and raise up again* “the City of David, which was fallen “down, fill up the breaches of the walls, and repair “the ruins for the Heathens, who, as he said, were “come into God’s inheritance, and polluted his holy “Temple : and made Jerusalem an orchard, nay, a “stable. The vineyard of the Lord brought out of “Egypt, all that went by plucked off her grapes ; the “boar out of the wood rooted it up, and everything “that was wild devoured it. The city that was full of “people sat alone ; the Queen of the Nations sat as a “widow ; the Princess of the Provinces was put “under tribute ; she lamented sorely in the night, “and the tears ran down her cheeks. There was “none to comfort her of all those that were dear to “her. All her friends despised her and became her “enemies. All her persecutors apprehended her in “the midst of her straits. The paths of Sion lament- “ed because there was none that came in the solem- “nity : all her gates were destroyed : her Priests “groaned : her virgins were in vile cloathing : and “she being oppressed with bitterness had capital “enemies. Her adversaries became rich because the “Lord spake concerning her for the multitude of her “iniquities.” Strype expresses his astonishment that the eloquent Harpsfield should have compared the Church of England under Edward VI. to the condition of Judea, under the dominion of the Babylonians :

* Strype, E. M., p. 42.

but there must have been an analogy between the state of the two countries, or there could have been none between the old Catholic ritual and the first temple, and the Prayer Book and the second temple—an analogy which is obvious to every considerate and thoughtful mind, which is not perverted by Ultra-Protestantism.

Precisely the same comparison between the two temples which I have so much insisted upon, was no less learnedly and eloquently adduced by the next speaker, William Pye, the Dean of Chichester. He declared that the Christian States had been overthrown to the very foundations, by the reformers; and rejoiced to see the day, as we do, when he trusted that the flock of the reformers would be entirely overthrown.* The Archdeacon of London eulogized at great length the high character, attainments, and learning, of the Members of the Convocation before him. *Weston returned thanks* for his election as Procurator, *in a speech* full of deep interest and eloquence, *such as might safely be printed now, as one of the Tracts for the Times*—he also adopts our own metaphor that the restoration of the old ritual was the re-building the Church of God. He, like us, does not condescend to talk as an Ultra-Protestant, of the value of the souls of men, of the power of the Scriptures to give to men the knowledge of God—of the use of the Church as one only of the divinely appointed means of grace—of the Omnipresent God,

* See his Speech in Strype, Ecc. M., p. 43—1553.

blessing the souls and hearing the prayers of his people, crowning the preaching of the Holy Word with his converting and purifying grace, and by means of His Holy Omnipresent Spirit, sanctifying his sacred word by bringing all things to the remembrance of his people. No more of this wretched puritanical Ultra-Protestantism is to be found in the speech of the Prolocutor Weston, than is to be found of similar matter in our own dear lucid, intelligible, fascinating pages. Weston speaks exactly as we do of the ancient doctors of the Church, of the reverence shewn by Constantine to the Bishops, of the Holy Chrysostom, of the dignity and authority of the Clergy. He speaks of the Prayer Book as stuffed with blasphemies and stored with errors, which, under the name of Religion, took away Religion by diminishing the Sacraments, and condemned the whole world. *It is impossible that our sentiments could be more accurately expressed than in the words of Weston.* They are, indeed, the very counterpart of my own, when I say, that the Reformation disturbed the peace and infringed the unity of the Christian body.* I cannot but love this man.

Four days after this speech in the Convocation, he preached at St. Paul's Cross, and called upon the people to pray for the souls of the departed. "You shall pray," he said, "for all them that shall be departed, that be neither in heaven nor in hell, but in a place not sufficiently purged to come to heaven,

* British Critic, No. 59, p. 1.

that they may be relieved by your devout prayers.”* No Tractarian British Critic could have spoken more plainly. The manner, too, in which this learned theologian defended the doctrine of an actual sacrifice in the Eucharist against the Ultra-Protestants Bradford, Ridley, and Cranmer, deserves our highest commendation. He agrees with us in each of the three principles which we are endeavouring to commend again to the nation—dislike to our Prayer Book as imperfect, prayers for the dead, and the doctrine of the actual sacrifice, and, therefore, we must approve of him. The whole of his speech at the Convocation is given in the records of Strype. We are confirmed, too, in this estimate of Weston, by observing that Bonner in his concluding speech, spoke of him in the same manner, as learned, ingenious, eloquent, Catholic, and good—as worthy of all praise and acceptable to all degrees. Such were the speeches at the opening of this august Convocation. The acts of the Synod were such as we might have expected. Weston proposed that they should begin the business, for which they were summoned, by condemning the Prayer Book, especially the articles which were contrary to the Sacrament of the Altar. The discussions which ensued—the disputes on Transubstantiation, on substance, form, shape, accident, accidental substance, presence, symbol and real presence, may be read in Foxe† and Burnet.‡ The

* Foxe, vol. vi., p. 541.

† Vol. vi., p. 395, &c.

‡ Part 2, b. ii., p. 265, &c.

conclusion of the debates was the resolution to restore the antient doctrines and ritual. The acts which passed in the Parliament were founded, as they ought to have been, on the decisions of the Convocation. On the 13th of December, the Queen, omitting in the mandate the title of Supreme Head of the Church, which had been so sacriligiously assumed by her father, commanded Bonner to dissolve the assembly.

Nearly one whole year elapsed between the complete change in the national religion, which was thus effected by law, and the public reconciliation of the nation and the national Church to the See of Rome. During the whole of this period no acts of great severity took place. No one was burnt for his religion. The Ultra-Protestants, who eventually suffered the punishment of vivicomburation, and who were burnt alive for their obstinacy, more than for their original heresy, were now treated by Bonner with comparative indulgence. I shall briefly examine his conduct during this period. We shall see that my friend Froude is fully justified in expressing his admiration of this illustrious Prelate. We will consider his conduct, at this period, to his prisoners, before it was found necessary to exact more stringent laws after the reconciliation with Rome to extirpate heresy ; together with his proceedings as a Bishop, his speeches on the Priesthood at the next Convocation, and his visitation of the Diocese of London.

With respect to his treatment of his prisoners, we shall find that though he was so much exasperated

against them after the solemn act of reconciliation with Rome, that he used, as we shall see, more severe language than I can altogether approve; his conduct towards them at the beginning was always kind and gentle, though his words were sometimes severe and harsh.

One of the first duties of a Bishop is obedience to the public law, and the enforcement of the same obedience in others. In consequence of the tumult at St. Paul's Cross, when a dagger had been thrown at the preacher, the Queen had commanded, in her regard for the public peace, that all preaching should for a time be prohibited. Now, the Ultra-Protestants consider preaching to be the chief means of building up a Church, and of bringing the souls of men, "from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God." They constantly refer to the words of the apostolic commission, and deem the preaching of the Gospel, not the administration of the Sacraments, to be the first, primary, and all-important duty of the Clergy. We, the Tractarians, on the contrary, esteem preaching as a means of grace, *necessary only when the Church is in a weak and languishing state* :* as an instrument, in Scriptural language, which, to say the least, has never been much recommended in Scripture, and which the great *teachers of Heathen morals esteemed but little useful for their purpose. As Socrates evinced a jealous apprehension of rhetoric, so do we. We,*

* Tract 87, ut sup.

*like Pythagoras, prefer reserve in teaching.** These Ultra-Protestants, however, despising all such valuable authorities, declare with St. Paul, the great teacher of such men, "Woe is me, if I preach not." Laurence Saunders was one of such men. He was the first prisoner brought before Bonner. He would not even wait till the Convocation had completed its sitting. He would not delay his preaching till he had seen in what manner the Ecclesiastical Synod of the Church might recommend the Parliament, which was the Lay Synod of the Church, to modify the laws respecting the public preaching. Not only so—he *constantly preached that odious doctrine that Rome was Anti-christ†*—he continued to do this after the Queen's accession, and even after the Queen's proclamation. He did this in Bonner's diocese. He was denounced by Sir John Mordant to Bonner, as being about to preach in the City on Sunday, the 15th.‡ The Bishop sent an officer to prohibit his doing so. Saunders declared in his sermon the superior excellence of the Service Book of Edward VI., to the restored Service of Henry VIII., and boldly pronounced the Mass or the Liturgy of St. Peter, (as my friend Mr. Froude calls it, this expression being preferable to the word Mass,§) to be an abomination. The Bishop's officer

* See Tract 87, throughout.

† See Foxe, vol. 6, p. 613.

‡ I say the 15th, but it is difficult from Foxe's account to make out the day. Foxe inaccurately speaks of Sunday, the 15th, and Sunday the 20th.—Vol. 6, p. 541.

§ Remains, part 1, p. 387.—I advise you to substitute in your

commanded him to desist from preaching, and to attend him to Bonner. Saunders as boldly and presumptuously, in the presence, as he had formerly done, in the absence, of the Bishop, defended his doctrine. He disputed with Bonner himself, even though he was a Bishop, on the Sacrifice in the Eucharist. He affirmed that the ceremonies in the antient Church were few. *He pleaded, as all such fellows do, his conscience, as his apology for breaking the law.* He did not seem in the least to consider that Bonner, as a Bishop, ought to be regarded and treated with the same deference as if he saw an Apostle working miracles before him. He persisted in his zeal and resolution, and was committed to the Marshalsea. There he remained, as Bonner had previously done, (till the more stringent laws were passed, which aimed at the total extirpation of heresy), for one year and three months: when his intolerable obstinacy, as we shall see, proved fatal.

The next prisoners brought before Bonner at this time were some Ultra-Protestants, sent up from Coventry to the Council. No other punishment was inflicted upon those of whom any notice was taken, than to commit them to prison. None were burnt till the laws were again altered. Many others also were apprehended* at different times through this year, by various active Magistrates, who were more

notes the "Liturgy of St. Peter," for that obnoxious phrase the Mass Book.

* See Strype, p. 50.

zealous than Bonner, for the due enforcement of the law. I pass by those who were executed for the conspiracy and rebellion of Wyatt. *None were burnt, though many were imprisoned, for religion, till after the reconciliation with Rome.*

I shall now consider the conduct of Bonner as a Bishop, between his complete reinstatement in the See of London, and the reconciliation with the Church of Rome. I am sure that the most zealous ultra-Protestant will agree with me and with Froude, in admiring, with some exceptions, his zeal and proceedings: and will give him the same free, liberal, uniform praise, which the Bishops who have censured their writings have given to the motives, learning, and morality of my friends Newman, Pusey, and my other Tractarian brethren. The first act of Bonner, on his reassuming his episcopal dignity, appears to have been the ordering the revival of the antient custom of parochial processions. A practice has been handed down from tradition and antiquity, that the Clergyman of a district, habited in splendid robes, attended by the Laity in their best dresses, with tapers, crucifixes, images, and music on the festivals; or with dejected countenances, plainer dresses, and mournful anthems, on the fasts of the Church, should walk in procession to the Church, and round the Church. The revival of this custom was politically ordered, that the adherents to the antient ritual might know each other, and calculate their real strength. They served also to distinguish them from

the Ultra-Protestants. We accordingly read* that on the 25th of November, the Churchmen belonging to St. Paul's, Bonner's Cathedral, went in procession round the Church, with five hundred great lights, with the image of St. Katherine, and with much singing. The second session of the first Parliament of Mary, in which the abolition of the Prayer-book of King Edward was ordered to take place from the 20th of December, closed on the 6th of the month, and Bonner, two days after, commanded these processions to be observed in all the London Parishes; each of which was required to provide a cross, a staff, and a cope, instead of the disgraceful surplice, which had so long superseded the more gorgeous vestment.† Much may be said in defence of these processions, and I hope to see them revived. Something like them was lately attempted at the consecration of the new Church at Leeds, to the great edification of the spectators; and we may be certain that the use of copes will be revived, because they are still used in the Coronations of our Sovereigns at Westminster. Their use is commanded in the Canons, and may be said to have been never discontinued; and the return to these usages will be steps in our progress. We can only hope to succeed slowly and gradually. Bonner could proceed more rapidly.

The second act of Bonner, which might have been expected by the restorer of processions,

* Strype's Eccles. Mem. Mary, p. 51.

† See the account in Strype.

lights, images, and copes, was the command that the Texts of Scripture, which had been painted in the days of Edward, upon the walls of Churches, should be erased. There was sound judgment in this measure. I have the deepest reverence for the Holy Scriptures, but these texts of Scripture were put up without note or comment. No allusion was made in them to the unanimous consent of the Fathers, as their only right interpreters. Nothing was said of the Church as their depository. Tradition was not alluded to—antiquity was never mentioned. The absurd notions of the right of private judgment were most scandalously encouraged by the practice ; for the people who read the Texts, thus engraven on the walls of the Churches, were taught that the soul might have other teachers than the un-preaching Priests, with their Latin Prayers, and the canon of the Mass : and it is absurd to believe that the Bible alone, without the guides I have mentioned to its right interpretation, without the knowledge of the unanimous consent of the Fathers, of Catholic tradition and the decisions of the Councils, of the doctors and the Church, can guide the soul of the peasant, the mechanic, the weaver, and the old woman, to the knowledge of their religion and their duty. It is as absurd to imagine this, as it is to suppose that John Quill can make acceptable love to Mary Gold, unless he first studies the “*Ars Amandi*” of Ovid, with all the *notæ variorum*. The knowledge of the folios of the Fathers

is quite as essential to the mechanic who desires to know from the Scriptures the knowledge of good and evil, as the knowledge of the variorum notes of Ovid is essential to his winning the object of his more worldly affections. Bonner, therefore, not only at the commencement of his restored power commanded the texts to be erased from the walls; but he renewed this mandate when he visited his diocese in the October following, and he assigned his cogent reasons for so doing. "Because," he says, "some children of iniquity, (the Ultra-Protestants) given up to carnal desires and novelties, have by many ways enterprized to banish the ancient manner and order of the Church, and to bring in and establish sects and heresies; and have procured, as a key to their heresies, certain Scriptures wrongly applied; to be painted on the Church walls, opening a window to all vices, and utterly closing up the way to virtue*—we being moved with Christian zeal—do for the discharge of our duty command you to abolish all such manner of Scriptures,"—and those who refuse to obey are threatened with excommunication. I confess that this appears to us to be a harsh sentence, though I cannot approve of the language of Bale, the foul-mouthed Bale, as he has been justly called,† on this subject, when he quotes the text from Deuteronomy, on writing the words of the law on the posts of the house, and calls Bonner and Gar-

* Foxe, vol. vi. p. 565.

† Strype, p. 59.

diner by many opprobrious epithets. At the same time the wildest Ultra-Protestant, who defends the use of the Holy Scriptures without note or comment, according to the very questionable custom we have adopted in our Churches, must acknowledge that Bonner was right in guarding against the abuse of the sacred text. This was his only object. I may not yet boldly say that I agree with him entirely, yet I do begin to perceive that neither I nor my "Tractarian British Critic" friends will be able to bring back the nation from their attachment to these principles of the Reformation, "that the Scriptures alone are the rule of the rule of faith, that the soul is responsible to God alone for its religious conclusions, and that the Church is the assistant, adviser, biasser, and channel of blessing; but not the controller, Sovereign, and ruler"—we shall never be able to reduce the Episcopal Churches of England, America, and Scotland, to our pattern Church of the fourth and fifth centuries, or of any other century to which we may wish to guide them, till we can make them give up the Ultra-Protestant notions which the best of them entertain, respecting the right and even the duty of thinking, reasoning, and judging, from the private interpretation of Scripture, for themselves. We shall never establish the "Tractarian and British Critic" system, till we can persuade the people to put the words, Church for Christ, Oxford for St. Paul, Tracts for the Gospels, and the British Critic for the Epistles. Till the Scriptures be su-

perseded in the love of our benighted and prejudiced people, we cannot prevail : and the hardest part of our task will be to convince the common people of the expediency of giving up the Scriptures, that we may think for them, reason for them, pray for them, and rule them for their benefit ; as the Churchmen rule the laity in the peaceful countries of Spain, Portugal, and Italy, where there are no Protestants, no Ultra-Protestants, no private judgment, no Bible read in their public worship, no Reformation, no words *of that bold and undutiful tenor*, so commonly used among us, “*the blessings of emancipation from the Papal yoke.*”* Oh! if Bonner and Gardiner had succeeded, we should have no such *guilt* now resting upon us as *separation from Rome*. The Bible would have been restored to the custody of the Priests, and England would have been as enlightened as Italy.

These events took place at the end of 1533. I pass by the accounts given by Strype, of the general execution of the laws against the Ultra-Protestants, who still adhered to the novelties introduced by Ridley and Cranmer, because these were not the actions of Bonner. I shall mention those only in which he displayed his own zeal, or developed some new feature of his character.

On February, the 24th, Bonner issued a commission to all the Clergy of his Diocese, to return to their diocesan, the names of all persons who refused

* British Critic, No. 59, p. 2.

auricular confession to their Ministers in Lent, that they might be admitted to the Holy Communion at Easter. I have expressed my opinion of this very antient custom, as one of the “*practical grievances, to which Christians are exposed in the Church of Rome, because without this confession to a priest, no one can be partaker of the Holy Communion.*”^{*} I do not say that I altogether condemn it, as the Ultra-Protestants do. I wish to approximate as closely as I possibly can to the Church of Rome, and I will never be guilty of “*the undutiful language, which values our independence of the authority of our Sister, and Mother, through whom we were born to Christ.*” I am obliged, therefore, in pure consistency to say that I do not approve of that part of Bonner’s mandate which requires confession as a condition of Communion: neither do I affirm that I entirely approve, at present, of the practice itself. This, however, I am quite willing to say—that if I did sanction the custom of auricular confession, I would certainly do so on the reasoning which I find in the episcopal injunctions of Bishop Bonner. He does not make any allusion to the Holy Scriptures. He does not even refer to tradition and antiquity, as denoting the customs of the fourth, or fifth century. He merely alludes to the customs and constitutions of the realm, and the laudable usage of the whole Catholic Church, many hundred years ago, which required such confession to be made, and he threat-

^{*} Tract, 71, p. 9.

ened to proceed against all persons who did not thus confess according to the ecclesiastical law.* Bonner evidently agreed in one of my own private opinions, that no man should exercise his private judgment against the doctrines that were once established, whether they were right or wrong. He "*felt too with us, a peculiar gratification, that a penalty was attached to the expression of new doctrines, or to a change of communion.*"† Bonner and the Tractarians, both lay down this general proposition, that every man "*should abide in the calling, wherein he was called.*"‡ He does not quote the Scriptures to his purpose, as we do. Our knowledge of Scripture, perhaps, is greater than his—and, therefore, our merit is greater in applying the words of inspiration to the revival of the Bonnerian maxims. And lest there should be any affectation of surprize on the part of the astonished Ultra-Protestants, I hereby, as I have said in my most bold and startling number of my favourite Review—*repeat my satisfaction*, and Bonner would have done the same, that a penalty was attached to the expression of new doctrines, against the tenor of the teaching of so many centuries. *I repeat it*, I say—"for if persons have strong feelings, they should pay for them. If they think it a duty to unsettle things established, they should shew their earnestness by being willing to

* See the Mandate in Foxe, vol. vi., p. 426.

† British Critic, No. 59, p. 105.

‡ British Critic, ut supra.

suffer.”* I cannot help the boldness of these sentiments. Bonner, Gardiner, Hildebrand, and Innocent, the enemies of Luther in Germany, and the members of the tribunals in Spain,—(which are so shamefully misrepresented, that the words inquisitor and inquisition are actually used as terms of reproach, instead of honor)—these all thought as I think, all acted as I should certainly, though unwillingly, act. The “Tractarian British Critic” only carries out his principles, when he declares that he approves of the principles, and therefore, of the mandate of Bonner, in restoring, by episcopal authority, the customs of the Catholic Church, because they are antient. A religious man will say—when he is born under a peculiar ecclesiastical system of faith, and discipline, “*If I am in error at present, I am in error by a disposition of Providence,*”† and I will rest contented with present native error, rather than incur the risk of some future selected error. True it is, that if the primitive Christians had acted on this rule we should have had no Christianity. If the Reformers had done so, we should have had no Reformation. But they were different from me, and from my brethren—and if any man so interprets our Tracts and Numbers, as to make us resemble either, that man is guilty of some vile misrepresentation.

On the third of March following, the Queen is

* British Critic, No. 59, p. 105.

† British Critic, No. 59, p. 105.

sued certain mandates to Bonner, commanding the more energetic enforcement of the new, or revived laws. "God pardon the soul of my brother Edward," said the affectionate Queen. "We greet you well, our Right Reverend Father in God," said these pious documents, "and we charge you to root out not only all immorality, but to put in execution all such canons, and ecclesiastical laws, as were in use in the reign of Henry VIII." The claim to royal supremacy over the Church was commanded to be expressed no more by any Bishop. The sceptre was resigned to the crosier, as it ought to have been. The Bishops were required, however, with some inconsistency, (for they ought to have had the power to originate as well as to execute the laws against heresy,) to "travail diligently for the repressing of heretics, especially in the clergy, duly correcting and punishing the same." Unlawful books were prohibited—but their titles were not specified, as at a later period. The clerical marriages were dissolved. Processions and services in the Latin tongue were ordered. All schoolmasters, who were Protestant, were dismissed—and other enactments were ordered, which favored the restitution of true religion.* Bonner's religion, loyalty, zeal, and Tractarianism, alike incited him to obey the mandates of the Queen to the utmost. I will not discuss the royal injunctions of Mary at any length at present. I can only say that I am not aware that there is anything in them, which my prin-

* Foxe, vi, p. 427-9.

ciples would compel me to disapprove. Neither can I censure Bonner, therefore, for his implicit obedience to his Sovereign.

The next anecdote or fact related of Bonner meets with the most cordial approbation both of myself and my friends. The whole of our system, and the whole of Bonner's system, as applied by his and our friends, rests upon the Divine authority of the Christian priesthood. Neither shall I quote any passages to vindicate the eulogy of Bonner at the meeting of the Convocation in 1554—when he affirmed that “priests and elders be worthy of all men, to be worshipped for the dignities sake, which they have of God—as in Matt. xvi. Whatsoever ye shall loose upon earth, shall be loosed in heaven.” Why shall I hesitate to praise Bonner for this declaration. If as my friend Froude, so often quoted, affirms, we have the power “to make the body and blood of Christ”—then, as Bonner goes on to say—a Priest is like the Virgin Mary—as she conceived Christ, the Priest makes him. Mary by five words did conceive Christ.* The Priest by five words makes his very body. Other things he adds, and he concludes that “the dignity of Priests, passeth the dignity of Angels, because there is no power given by the angels to make the body of Christ. The least Priest on earth, may do that which the highest Angel cannot do in heaven. Oh ! worshipful dignity of Priests, in whose hands

* See the Speech of Bonner in Foxe, vol. vi., p. 433. New Edition.

the son of God is, as in the womb of the Virgin, incarnate—wherefore Priests are to be honored before all kings, princes, and nobles. A Priest is higher than a King, happier than an Angel, maker of his Creator.” Such are the words of Bonner. The Ultra-Protestant may deride them : but that Tractarian will never deny their justice, who believes that the Priest can make the body and blood of Christ. This Froude believed. This Bonner believed. If I love Froude, why shall I not dare with him to love, to admire, to vindicate this our dear Bonner.

The wretched Ultra-Protestants, who despise those noble conclusions, from the Catholic ritual, which our Fathers possessed before the Reformers, as they are so ludicrously called, induced the church and people to reject such doctrines, are accustomed to say, that if the Priests are thus superior to Angels, we might suppose they would be of angelic tempers, and be free from human infirmities : and they laugh to scorn the expressions of Bonner, because he did not preserve his temper at the Visitation of his Diocese this year. He began his Visitation on Sept. 6, and prepared for the better ordering of his enquiries, a book of articles, thirty-seven in number. The impatience he manifested at Wadham, on his progress through his diocese, is the object of the Ultra-Protestant contempt to which I allude. I see in it, however, merely an act of consistency. It was the custom, as indeed it still is, to ring the bells in every parish, when the Bishop comes into it, on his visitation.

When Bonner arrived at Hadham, the bell-ringers had forgotten their duty. The bells were not rung. "What meaneth this," he demanded, "that the knave the clerk ringeth not, and the parson meeteth me not." The excuse these people alleged was that he had come two hours before his time. Of this I know nothing. His biographer records of him that, when the Parson of the parish apologised for his unreadiness to receive him, and assured him that if he had known the Bishop would have arrived so early, he would have been prepared for him. Bonner commanded him to move away—and said to him—"before God thou art a knave, avaunt heretic"—and so saying he struck at him. The Parson, Dr. Bricket, avoided the blow, which fell upon the head of Sir Thomas Joscelyn. "What meaneth your Lordship?" said the knight. Have you been trained in Will Somer's school, to strike him that standeth next you?" Bonner either did not hear, or would not answer, for he made no reply. Feckenham, the Dean of St. Paul's, apologized to Sir Thomas, that the Bishop's long imprisonment in the Marshalsea, had injured his power of self possession. "It seems to be so indeed," replied the knight, "for now that he has left the Marshalsea, he is ready for Bedlam," and with this "merry conceit," as the historian relates the affair, the business ended. The Ultra-Protestants are accustomed as I have said, to deride this conduct of Bonner. They consider it to be undignified, and unworthy of his station as a Bishop. With me it seems to be only the pardon-

able ebullition of a dignitary jealous of the respect due to his order. If—a Priest, as Bonner had proved at the Convocation, was higher than Kings, nay, higher than the highest Angel, how high ought a Bishop to be esteemed, who makes the Priest, who makes his maker. Am I not right in saying, that a Bishop, as a Bishop, should be considered, as if we saw him—in the place of an Apostle, working miracles ; and if Bonner had reason to believe that the omission of ringing the bells was intentional, he merely felt indignant that his order should be insulted, and so great deficiency of respect be shewn to him, the *maker of the Priest, who made his maker*. It was but as reasonable that he should be angry, as it was to be expected that the Ultra-Protestants should deride him.

The thirty-seven articles of inquiry insisted upon by Bonner in his visitation do not seem to demand much notice. There are, of course, some things which are common to all who believe in the New Testament, and many of them are to be found in the enquiries of Bonner. They principally relate to the morality of the clergy and people. There are many points common to the “Tractarian British Critics” with the “Ultra-Protestants.” There are others which are common to ourselves and Bonner, which the Ultra-Protestants still obstinately reject with much affected indignation. I observe also, that when the repeated mandates of the Queen and Council had been addressed personally to Bonner, after the

reconciliation with Rome, to induce the Bishop to become more zealous, active, and severe against the Ultra-Protestants; and when, in consequence of those mandates, Bonner enforced the laws against them, and sentenced them to the legal punishment of the day, the same four principal topics which were insisted upon in these articles of visitation were uniformly placed before the Ultra-Protestant prisoners as the test of their heresy or orthodoxy. We, the Tractarians, are agreed that these four articles ought to be maintained by every Christian: and therefore I am prepared to defend the conduct of Bonner in this respect also. The four articles to which I allude are these: I. The submission of the judgment of the individual reasoner, in all cases, to the decision of the Catholic Church; II. The belief in an actual sacrifice in the Eucharist; III. The offering of prayers for the dead; and, IV. The preference of the Catholic ritual of the antient days to the Second Service Book of King Edward, the modern Prayer-Book. These four points were insisted upon both in Bonner's primary visitation after his restoration, and in all the articles, as we shall see, by which the Bishop tested the Ultra-Protestantism or heresy of his prisoners. These were his standards of orthodoxy. These are our's. In his choice of these criteria of the goodness or badness of the faith of our fellow Christians, we agree with Bonner. I have already spoken much of each of them. I shall but defend him, therefore, on the last of these. I do so because

Strype, who is sometimes most deficient in judgment, has quoted from certain anonymous Ultra-Protestant assailants, very severe censures upon the Bishop's opinion. We have made on our present Prayer-Book, not only the remarks I have already quoted, but we have deemed the book itself to be a judgment upon us, dealt to us, we acknowledge, in mercy, because, as we have shewn, it might have been worse. *"The same hand, I have said, which has so mercifully afforded us so much beyond our deserts, has in justice withdrawn such higher privileges for our unworthiness."** That is, the higher privileges withdrawn from us are portions of the antient Liturgies which the Reformers took from us. We had in them and in the antient Catholic ritual the language of sons. *"The Reformers have given us the language of servants."*† The note of *"servile fear characterizes our Liturgy more peculiarly than that of hers, as differing from the forms of prayer which we have in common with the Church of Rome."*‡ All the other Liturgies *"commence with the Lord's Prayer. Even the first book of Edward the Sixth was thus begun. So did the services of Sarum, York, and Hereford."* Instead of this we have the sentences, the exhortation, and the confession.§ Even the American Prayer-Book adds three sentences to our own, as if to correct the servile spirit in which ours are

* Tract 86, page 7.

† Tract 86, page 9.

‡ Tract 86, page 16.

§ Tract 86, page 16.

selected.* We have, indeed, adopted the "*very spirit of the captives who returned from Babylon to build the Second Temple. Daniel, Ezra, and Nehemiah begin their prayers, we say, with a confession, the very words of which might be put into our mouths at the Reformation.*"† An Ultra-Protestant, in his loyalty, blindness, and ignorance, would call this an excellence, and say that as the language of the first Temple did not preserve the Jews from idolatry, neither did the language of the liturgies of Sarum and of the old Catholic ritual preserve the nation from what they call the idolatry of Popery—and that the language of repentance and humiliation is the best preservative of God's grace, the proof of this favor, and the protection against the possibility of relapsing into evil. There is no replying to men who reason in this strange manner; and I leave them. We have said also of our present Prayer-Book, that by "*omitting prayers for the dead, we are in some degree disunited from the purer communion of those departed Saints who are now with Christ, as if we are unworthy to profess ourselves one with them*";‡ and, in short, our great "*object has been to shew that the services of our Church are characterized by a peculiar tone of sadness and humiliation, and that we are made, throughout our Prayer-book, to use the language of those who have fallen away from the richer pri-*

* Tract 86, page 17.

† Tract 86, page 18.

‡ Tract 86, page 21.

vileges, and inheritance of sons.”* That is, we prove by the Prayer-book, that we have fallen away from the richer privileges of Prayers for the dead, the old services, the Latin petitions, and the Canon of the Mass. We have fallen away from the inheritance of such sons as Gardiner, and Bonner ; and such daughters, as Mary of England, and the de Medicis of France. If then we—we, the Oxford Theologians, who have been so long accustomed to this Prayer-book, that we might be supposed in common, even with the Ultra-Protestants, and with the people and church in general, to be blind to its defects—if we, the lights, and guides, of the present age, discover so many faults and deficiencies in the language, tone, spirit, and temper of the Prayer-book ; how much more abominable must it have appeared to the Oxford Theologians of the age of Gardiner and of Bonner. Can we be surprized that Gardiner, even before the 20th of December, when the Prayer-book was commanded to be disused, expressed his indignation in bolder terms than I, at present, dare to do, with all my eagerness to restore the antient Temple. Thou heretic, he said to the Ultra-Protestant Clergyman, or Priest, or Parson, who had communicated joyfully, by his own confession, with his parishioners, according to the form in our present Prayer-book—thou heretic, said Gardiner, how darest thou be so bold, to use still that schismatical service, seeing that God hath now sent us a Catho-

* Tract 86, p, 66.

lic Queen.* And when the Minister answered him in the language of St. Paul, after the way which you call heresy, we worship the living God—then, said Gardiner—this is the way with these heretics—these Ultra-Protestants, he might have called them. They always have nothing in their mouths, but “the Lord, “the Lord, and nothing but the Lord—the Lord “liveth—the living God”; and Gardiner was right—those who love the Prayer-book most, will ever be known for their thus constantly calling their decisions the truths which are approved by the living God : and so long as individuals thus commend their souls and their consciences to those conclusions, which they deem to be the will of God, without enquiring whether they be sanctioned by the antient Catholic ritual ; so long the Prayer-book will be loved, and the modern Tractarian, and the antient Papist, will be despised together. This must be altered. And as Gardiner thus expressed his indignation, so also did Bonner, the other Bishop of this period, in whom my friend Froude rejoiceth, no less desire to “root out the Reformation,”† and the clergy who favored it, from his Diocese. We are conscious of many beauties in our Liturgy, though we desire in it so many alterations ; more, indeed, than any even of its former enemies could have desired. Neither Bonner nor Gardiner could appreciate, nor value

* Strype, *Eccles. Mem. Mary*, p. 68, ann. 1553.

† The expression is in Strype.—*Eccles. Mem. Mary*. Folio edition, vol. iii., 1721, p. 138.

these, and we must not be surprized, therefore, that as Gardiner used the language I have just related ; so Bonner also calls the ordinances both of Henry, and of Edward, “schismatical, and contrary to the antient order.” This is our objection also. The Ultra-Protestant in the present day may use the same language, which Strype represents the foul-mouthed Bale, to use, in reply to Bonner—that the services of Edward were set forth according to the Scriptures of God, and agreeably to the order of the primitive Church. Bale knew, as well as I know, that those ordinances only of the primitive Church are to be regarded, which the Church of Rome, and not which the Church of England, approves : and that we may establish any mass or ritual we please, if we make the observances of some of the earlier Churches, our Canons and laws. We select, from the primitive Church, those things only which became more permanent ; and, because they were permanent, obtained the approbation of Bonner, Gardiner, and their friends. These things we call the antient ritual : and these only which the Church of Bonner approved, we sanction, approve, and desire to see restored. This is our object. For this we defend Bonner, Gardiner, and their brethren. This we will endeavour to effect, by our Reviews, Sermons, Tracts, and volumes. And because we cannot attempt the change by legislation, or by force ; we adopt with Froude, the *poisoning system*, and wait with holy patience, the result of our most Ca-

tholic labors. We know that Rome approves of us. We hear the plaudits of the eternal city. We listen to the eulogies of the Vatican. We see our influence over the young : and we are comforted, under the censure of our own Bishops, the contempt of our own Church, the disgust of the people, and the loud, long, scorn of the hateful and miserable Ultra-Protestants.

The time had not yet arrived when the greater severities for which Bonner has been unjustly stigmatized, had commenced. No Ultra-Protestants were burnt till after the reconciliation of the Church of England to Rome. It may be advisable to say some few words on this point, before we proceed to the consideration of those severities.

IV. The fourth stage of the Froudian, or *poisoning system*, is to become reconciled to Rome.

With respect to ourselves, we have said—“ *Till Rome moves towards us, it is impossible for us to move towards Rome.**” This we have said : but we are conscious, that by exalting in general terms the Catholic Church to be the one Society to which alone the promises of grace are given—while I call the “*Church of England the Apostolic Church,*”† and yet declare “*that very Church to be incomplete in its formal doctrine and discipline*”;‡ while I advocate, as I so often do, an actual sacri-

* Tract, No. 75, page 23.

† Tract, No. 30, page 7.

‡ Tract, No. 71, page 27.

fice in the Eucharist, and Prayers for the dead, and while I condemn also in one Tract, though I praise in another, the modern Church of England—I may seem to have moved already, and that with no inconsiderable progress, towards Rome. Rome most undoubtedly has not hitherto moved so much towards us, as we have moved towards them. This, however, is but another result of our principles. We must carry these out, wherever they lead us; and reconciliation with Rome is so decidedly one of our principal objects, that we are willing to make very great sacrifices, in order to attain to it. We are willing, therefore, in contra-distinction to Mr. Townsend, to seek for union with Rome, on that foundation which he has so earnestly condemned. All our hopes of reconciliation with Rome, must be established on one of these two principles—retrogradation towards Rome, or progression from Rome. Mr. Townsend would build on the latter. We have shown, in spite of our professions, that we are willing to build on the former. He would bring Rome to England; we would carry England to Rome. He would derive experience from the past, to make us avoid Rome. We would learn from the past, to love Rome. He would have Italy learn from England. We would have England learn from Italy. He prefers the German Reformers in the reign of Edward who expunged the Mass, and the Prayers for the dead from our services. We would prefer the Italian Reformers in the reign of Mary, who restored them both.

He would derive instruction from the Puritan, and the Jacobin, as well as from the Scriptures, and the Church. We would derive it from the Church alone, of whose creeds and articles the Scriptures themselves form only a part. He would move further from Rome. We, if we move at all, would move as we have done, towards Rome—and our papal friends perceive our wish to do so—for they boast that “*we are going back by degrees, till we shall resume all the doctrines and practices of the antient Church, from which we have separated.*”* On this I shall make no remark. I only add that both Mr. Townsend and myself are agreed that union with Rome is desirable when Rome changes : I shall wait with patience, till I see to what extent, and in what manner, he will recommend the changes he contemplates. But reconciled we must be, if the design of the gospel, and the object for which the Holy Catholic Church was founded, shall ever be accomplished. Our plan has been to propose this reconciliation by the *poisoning system* ; and in this, whatever may be the indignation of Mr. Townsend, and of the Ultra-Protestants with him, we shall certainly persevere. This system, indeed, is recommended to us by our friend Parsons. The reconciliation of the realm to God and his Church, that is to the Church of Rome, is the one great object of his Memorial :† and he gives some specific plans of proceeding, which

* McGuire's words in the recent discussion in Dublin.

† Parsons' Jesuits' Memorial, p. 21.

I cannot enlarge upon at present, but which so exactly resemble the "*poisoning system*," that I could almost imagine either that Parsons the Jesuit was a Tractarian, or that the Tractarians were Jesuits :* a suspicion which is very untenable, however frequently it may have been suggested. James the Second acted upon this principle of reconciling England to Rome. No sooner was he firmly established on the throne, by the suppression of Monmouth's rebellion, than he resolved to re-unite the two Churches. He requested from the Pope the appointment of a nuncio. He sent Caryl, in the year 1685, to the Papal Courts to learn from the Pope his willingness to receive England into communion : and when a favourable answer was returned, he nominated Lord Castlemain as Ambassador Extraordinary in the name of the King and of the Catholics of the realm, to testify their canonical obedience, and to make their submission to the Holy See.† The fault of James consisted in his endeavouring to place his dominions in communion with Rome without their own consent, and without any change on the part of Rome, either in faith or discipline. With Mary the case was far different. The Queen resolved to reconcile England

* See especially Chapter IV., on the manner in which schismatics and heretics may be dealt withal at the next change of religion.

† See the notes, pp. 46-47, to Parsons' Jesuits' Memorial, where extracts are given from Father Warner's MS. History of the period. Lord Castlemain was sent—*Obedientiam canonicam Jacobi, et Catholicorum Regni nomine testaturus*.

with Rome, and the attempt was made, and the design effected in the most legal and orderly manner. After the suppression of the rebellion of Wyatt, and the marriage with Philip of Spain, the Queen resolved, without demanding any change on the part of Rome, once more to reconcile the people to the Pope; and to restore the antient union. Strict adherence to the forms of law characterized all her proceedings. A Parliament was summoned to meet in the middle of November. The "*poisoning system*" had been completely successful, liberty of conscience having been proclaimed, preaching being put down, the chief Ultra-Protestants being either silenced, banished, or imprisoned, though none had hitherto been burnt. Barlow, Jewel, and Scory had recanted—Elizabeth had conformed—the Second Prayer-book of King Edward had been abolished—the married clergy were deprived—the Catholic Bishops restored—the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London, Cranmer and Ridley, had been declared by the Convocation of the Church of England to be obstinate heretics.* The great wealth brought in by the Spanish marriage pleased the people—the Queen's pregnancy was publicly declared, and all things being at peace, the favorable opportunity presented itself for affecting the reconciliation with Rome.†

* March 14, 1554.

† The previous correspondence of Mary with Commendone, Pole, Julius III., and the slow and gradual steps by which the

No proposition seems to be more true, than that England can only be saved, or ruined, by its Parliament.* The force of this maxim was felt at this eventful period. The Queen wrote letters to the Sheriffs, and other returning Officers, to take care that none were returned to Parliament but those who mean the true honor of God, and the prosperity of the Commonwealth. The "*poisoning system*" is always best carried on by courteous and gentle language. We must never use bold, strong, forcible expressions, in matters of religion, when we desire to rebuild the first temple, and to overthrow the second. This is very Ultra-Protestant. "We and our dear husband," said the mild and gentle Queen, "profess and intend the true honor of God; and therefore we wish you to return wise, grave, and Catholic men:"† and her request was complied with. A Parliament met, upon whom the Queen could depend: and if the mysterious Providence of God had not removed out of this life, nearly at the same time, Julius III., Gardiner, Mary, Pole, and Charles V., whose power supported the antient religion on the Continent; if Elizabeth, too, had not soon come to the throne, the reconciliation with Rome would have been

poisoning system in the reign of Mary was rendered successful, may be seen in Sharon Turner and his references.

* The remark occurs in Montesquien's Spirit of Laws, among his eloquent observations on the government and greatness of England.

† See the letter in Strype, E. M., 1554; and Burnet's account.

permanent, and England would have been as pious, peaceful, and submissive as a province of Spain or Italy. The Parliamentary returns convinced the Queen that she could safely execute her plans. Pole was invited, by public proclamation,* to come over to England, and there exercise his authority as the Legate of the Bishop of Rome. His answer was returned within a week. The Parliament met on the twelfth of November, and was opened by the King and Queen in person.† The Cardinal landed at Dover, on the 21st or 24th,‡ and proceeded to Lambeth, the possessor of the Palace being in prison at Oxford, and three days after the Parliament met at Whitehall. John Foxe may vent his loathsome anger against the reconciliation of Rome with England which was now about to be consummated. He may declaim, with his Ultra-Protestant friends, against the Queen, nobles, council, commons, and people of England, becoming the "vassal slaves and underlings of an Italian Priest, with whom the nation has no more to do than with the Caliph of Damascus."§ But if our "*poisoning system*" succeed, the day shall again arrive when the Commons of England shall once more return Members to Parliament who shall desire to be united to Rome, and another, and a more permanent reconciliation shall take place be-

* November 10th, 1554.

† Foxe, vol. 6, p. 567.

‡ Stowe says the 24th, Foxe the 21st.

§ Foxe's Sermon at St. Paul's Cross, on Good-Friday, 1578.

tween the Churches. I have said, that "*the Sacramentum unitatis was shattered in that great schism of the sixteenth century, which issued in some parts of Europe, in the Reformation,*"* and if I and my friends are successful, we will restore that unity. Never did England see a nobler sight than now presented itself. The Queen, who had omitted from her laws and proclamations, the title of Supreme Head of the Church, because it clashed with the supremacy of the Bishop of Rome, sate with her husband, under a canopy of state; the Cardinal on their right hand, with the Peers and Commons of the realm before them. The Chancellor Gardiner introduced the Legate, with a short speech, as the Ambassador from the Apostolic See, upon one of the weightiest causes that ever happened in the realm, pertaining to the glory of God, and the universal benefit of the kingdom. The Cardinal then rose, and in a long, elaborate, careful speech, expressed his gratitude for his restoration to his country—recapitulated the past history of the introduction and establishment of Christianity in England, as connected with the See of Rome—alluded to the dissensions in Germany occasioned by the Lutheran schism—charged the Reformers with unworthy motives—and drew a sad and sorrowful picture of the calamities which had followed the innovations in religion in England. He eulogized the Queen and her husband, and congratulated the nation on their

* Tract 71, p. 29.

love for true religion. God hath appointed, he said, the Queen to rule over you for the restitution of true religion, and for the extirpation of all errors, and sects. The extirpation of all errors and sects, I repeat the words, was the expression used by the Legate, to describe the object of the reconciliation with Rome. After some allusions to the Emperor, who, as David left the building of the first Temple to Solomon, had left the building of our first Temple, according to my favorite metaphor, to his son Philip, he proceeded to speak of the Pope, as the Vicar of God, with power from above, the power of the keys, who had delegated that power to him, which he now came there to exercise, and from which they must remove all impediments, by revoking and repealing the laws and statutes, which hindered the execution of his commission. As he had declared his design to be, the extirpation of all errors and sects, it might be supposed that he had in some measure lost sight of the "*poisoning system.*" Pole, however, had too much of the spirit of his own Church, and of our Tractarianism, to commit such an error. He continued his speech, therefore, by adding : "this I protest before you. My commission is not of prejudice to any person. I come not to destroy but to build. I come to reconcile, not to condemn. I come not to compel, but to call again. My commission is of grace and clemency, to such as will receive it. Ponder, therefore, well what is to be done, in this weighty cause : and so frame your acts and your

proceedings, that they may tend to the glory of God, and to the conservation of your common wealth, safety, and quietness.”* Here he ended—the Houses of Parliament, the Queen, the King, the Judges, the Councillors, and all the great men, believed him. The wretched Ultra-Protestants, we shall see, refused to be reconciled to Rome, because Rome had not, would not, change; and they soon suffered the consequences of their folly in rejecting the offer of Catholic unity.

On the conclusion of the Cardinal’s speech, the Chancellor, having first received the orders of the King and Queen, replied, that the two houses would deliberate apart, and signify their determination on the following morning.† On the next day the motion for the re-union was carried by acclamation. The Lords were unanimous. In the Commons, out of three hundred members, two only objected. A resolution was proposed and adopted to present a supplication to the King and Queen to intercede for them with the Cardinal and the Apostolic See; with an unlimited submission to the censures and sentences which might be justly pronounced on them by the Church: but they pray to be exempted from them, by the clemency of the See Apostolic. The documents are preserved in Foxe: and if there be no merit whatever in his odious book, which has done

* See the whole speech in Foxe, vol. vi., p. 569—and Sharon Turner’s note 7, p. 450, vol. viii.

† Lingard.

more than any other book in the language to prevent the submission of the people to the Church, it possesses this merit; that it records proceedings which may serve as precedents to our ultimate and more permanent reconciliation, when the Froudian system shall have "poisoned" (I love my venerable friend's own words) the minds of the clergy and people of England. The language of the supplication and submission of the Senate to the Cardinal is most humble, and therefore most valuable, as a specimen of the manner in which, when the Ultra-Protestant leaven shall have ceased to leaven the lump of the nation, and till we unprotestantize it, we may return to our dutiful allegiance to the nation. When the supplication had been read, it was presented to the King and Queen. By them it was given to the Cardinal. The Legate (how beautifully the poisoning ceremonial was conducted) first returned thanks to God—then declared his joy at his success—and concluded by giving his absolution, by the Pope's authority, to the repentant heretics, who had once received, but who now rejected, the Bible and the Prayer-book of the Reformed Church, the Protestant Church of England. "Our Lord Jesus Christ," said the exulting Legate, "absolve you. We, by apostolic authority, absolve and declare you and every one of you, and the whole realm, from all heresy and schism, and from all judgment, censure, and pain for that cause incurred; and we do restore you to the unity of our mother the Holy Church, in the name of the Father, and

“of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.” The Peers and Commons received this absolution on their knees.* Bonner, no doubt, was among them. When the absolution was over, the magnificent assembly adjourned to the adjacent Chapel. The *Te Deum* was sung, and general joy and gladness for the reconciliation appeared every where to prevail.

I cannot entirely pass by the letters of the King and of the Legate to the Pope on this joyful occasion, with the processions and other tokens of triumph which were commanded at Rome. The reconciliation took place on the 30th of November, St. Andrew's Day, which was commanded to be henceforth called the “Feast of the Reconciliation.” Their letters to the Pope were dated on the same day. We learn from the King's letter that the ceremony was not over till late in the evening: and he tells the Pope, that the Holy See had not a more obedient son than he, nor more desirous to preserve and increase the authority of the same. In the letter of the Cardinal we are told that the joy of the two Houses was enthusiastic. “After I had made my oration,” he says, “and given the benediction, there was a great joy and shout, and many cried out Amen, amen.” “Oh! notable zeal of godliness,” he exclaims, “oh! antient faith!” and then he goes on to express his raptures in the language of many passages of Scrip-

* I learn this from one of the Latin letters at the end of the folio edition of Calvin's Institutes. The circumstance is not mentioned by Foxe.

ture, and affirms that under the influence of Mary, a nation was born in a day. On the following Monday,* Gardiner preached before the Cardinal at St. Paul's Cross the celebrated sermon in which he assured his congregation that Henry VIII. had made repeated efforts to procure the same reconciliation with Rome which had now been so happily effected. He regretted his own wavering, and exhorted all the people to seek with him the unity of the Catholic Church. "It is high time to awake out of sleep," was his text.† "Let us awake," he concluded, "who "have so long slept; and in our sleep have done so "much naughtiness against the Sacraments of Christ, "and pulled down the altar, which even Luther had "not done." When his sermon was ended, he prayed for the Pope, and for Bonner as the Bishop of the Diocese, for the King and Queen, for the Commons, and for the souls departed lying in the pains of purgatory.‡

The reconciliation, however, was not yet completed. The whole Convocation of the Clergy were commanded to attend at Lambeth, on the 6th of De-

* December 2nd, 1554.

† Romans, 13, &c.

‡ This prayer is not included among the forms of bidding prayer lately published at Oxford; though the Editor has inserted among them the prayer of Gardiner before King Edward in 1550. In that prayer the Chancellor did not pray for the souls in purgatory, but only bade the people to commend to God the souls departed in the faith of Christ.—*Forms of Bidding Prayer*, Oxford, 8vo., 1840, page 82.

ember. The Cardinal addressed them, he forgave them all their perjuries, schisms, and heresies, and pronounced their absolution ; while they all humbly knelt before him. He again exhorted them, and congratulated them on their re-union with Rome, and their conversion to the Catholic Church, and he then permitted them to return. On the 3rd of January, an act was passed abolishing the royal supremacy over the Church. The statutes for the punishment of heresy were revived, to cement the union with Rome more effectually : and the reconciliation was at length perfected (after the Parliament had been dissolved, on the 16th of January,) by a general and solemn procession through the streets of London, on the 25th, to return thanks to God for the re-conversion of the nation to the Catholic Church. One hundred and sixty priests, each dressed in a splendid cope, singing their litanies—eight Bishops, the Mayor, Aldermen, and the Livery of London—the King himself, with the Cardinal, attended ; while Bonner, the Bishop of the Diocese, carried the Host, under a gorgeous canopy. The day was passed in rejoicing, bonfires were kindled at night ; and none seemed to mourn but the Ultra-Protestants, who were unable or unwilling, in their houses or in their prisons, to appreciate the advantages of the reconciliation of the Church and nation, with unchanging and inflexible Rome.

5. I am now, therefore, brought to that part of the life of Bonner which has been most generally assail-

ed, and condemned by the Ultra-Protestants. He is charged with cruelty in the government of his diocese, after the reconciliation with Rome. "He proceeded, however," says one of his biographers, "according to the statutes which were then in force, and by the direction of the legislative power, and he needs, therefore, no apology on that score; and as to his private motives, charity requires that we judge of them in the most favourable sense."* I have already observed that the fifth and last stage of the progress of the Froudian, or "*poisoning system*," by which a change is to be effected in the religion of a country, is *severity*: and the defence of the laws on which Bonner acted must be placed upon the absolute necessity of preventing resistance to the decisions and decrees of the Church. Those who are punished by the Church call the laudable severities which enforce union, persecution. The wiser Churchmen may call them the "sacrament of the prevention of heresy:" and it is utterly and totally impossible to uphold the principles of the Tractarian and Anti-Protestant school which commands the implicit and unlimited obedience of the conscience of the individual, whether with or without conviction, to the authority of the Church, unless we adopt this conclusion, that the refusal to submit to the Church must be punished by the Church. The only question is, to what extent, or in what

* Dodd's Church History, vol. 1, folio edition, p. 494. Mr. Tierney is publishing a new edition of this book, and is adding to it a large mass of materials.

manner must that punishment be enforced? Of what nature is it to be, and by whom is it to be inflicted? The full discussion of these questions would lead us too far from the subject more immediately before us. I shall only, therefore, say, that there are but two modes of legislation on this matter. One, adopted by the Ultra-Protestants; the other by the Anti-Protestants. The former is, to distrust the policy which punishes opinions, when the public peace is not broken, and therefore to rescind the laws which enforce that policy. The other is, never to distrust the policy which punishes opinions, and never, therefore, to rescind the laws which the Church has once made: even though the punishments which the laws may sanction are not actually inflicted, because of the difficulty or opposition which may attend their execution. In the former case the judge confesses he may himself err. In the latter case the judge is the Church, and the Church cannot err. In the former case the punishment of opinions, not politically injurious, ceases from principle. In the latter case it ceases from policy. Principle is unchangeable. Policy is mutable. The Ultra-Protestants, therefore, object to the antient Catholic, and to the modern "Tractarian British Critic" school of legislation, that the Church should change its policy into principle; and resign altogether the claim to inflict a temporal punishment upon the holder of any opinion whatever, unless a crime against the peace of society results from its continuance. They would leave the punishment of

errors to the Providence of God ; and the punishment of crime, to the wisdom of man. Now I am not prepared to offend the whole community which has been so long imbued with the Ultra-Protestant notions of what is called toleration, that I shall venture to affirm, however I may carry out my principles, that I would now burn the Bishops and Clergy who have opposed the system of the Tractarians, and that the laws, therefore, which Bonner executed were perfectly satisfactory. I really do think that burning a man for Ultra-Protestantism is wrong. I think it is very wrong. I should be unwilling to burn many persons whose wretched Ultra-Protestantism provokes my scorn, and excites my deep contempt : but I must say, that if I and my friends can so far succeed as to bring the people and nation through the four first stages of the Froudian, Poisoning, Tractarian, old Catholic system, (for they are in principle all one,)—if we can induce the people of England to go through these four stages in the change of their religion which I have already detailed,—if the pious opinions which we hold on the Sacrifice in the Eucharist, on the authority of the Church, on prayers for the dead, and on the deficiencies of our existing Church and Prayer-book, can be so proposed by us, that the offence of maintaining them shall cease—if we can extend them by influence, then establish them by law, then procure a reconciliation with Rome, though we alone change, and Rome does not change—then I cannot but believe that

some great alteration would so be rendered necessary, that the objectors to our pious opinions, should be punished with greater severity, than our present most deficient policy, will permit. The penalties, which Ultra-Protestants falsely call persecution, must inevitably follow the establishment of the old Catholic, new Tractarian system.

I am confirmed in this view, both by the maxims of my friend Father Parsons, and by the result of the experiment of the divinely righted James the Second, whom we banished for the enforcement of this very policy; when we committed "*the great sin of 1688, and banished Christ crucified, with Kenn and Kettlewell, from the Church.*"* After the reconciliation with Rome shall have been effected, says Parsons, the change in religion may be completed by the establishment of a "*Council of Reformation,*" which, avoiding the odious name of Inquisition, shall take care that the laws be enforced:† and when they resign their office, they shall

* Tract 80, p. 95.

† My candid and learned friend Dr. Lingard, has shewn the immense difference between the Spanish Inquisition and the English tribunals; and is justly indignant at the attempt of Hume to prove their similarity. The difference between them consisted in this—that in England the heretics were sent by the Magistrates to the Ordinary, and then burnt. In Spain the Magistrates burnt them, without so sending them. The similarity between them consists in the burning only. Queen Elizabeth indeed, says Dr. Lingard, and not Queen Mary established the Inquisition, when she appointed the Court of High Commission.*

* See Lingard's History of England, vol. viii., p. 266, note 10.

leave some “good and sound manner of inquisition” (still avoiding the name), which shall prevent the repassing of the people into their former errors—Parsons is doubtful,* whether to advise the formation of the *Spanish* Inquisition, whose rigour was strongly disliked by some; or of the *Italian* Inquisition, which was less severe. He concludes, however, that nothing could be done well, unless the diligent, and exact “manner of proceeding, adopted in Spain,” be also followed in England:† and he advises that some high Court of Papal Delegates constantly reside in England, to give greater authority to the Court of Inquisitors, or enquirers into heretical pravity. He speaks of the decision with which they must act, when they find, what he calls the former “sweet means” to be unavailing to reclaim the heretics; and he recommends many other most useful provisions, till all the laws made at what time soever by any Prince or Parliament, in prejudice to the Catholic Roman religion, be revoked and abrogated; and till all the old laws against heresy and heretics be restored to their full authority.‡ The ill-used James the Second attempted to follow in its outlines the same plan. After his reconciliation with Rome, he endeavoured to commend his pious opinions, not merely by influence and law, but by the incipient severity, which, the

* See the Jesuits’ Memorial, p. 70, and pp. 98-99, &c., &c.

† Page 99.

‡ Page 107.

ungrateful people, whose good alone he affirmed that he consulted, refused to permit to be successful. The bigoted jury acquitted the Prisoner-Bishops whom the King, before they were found guilty, had sent to the Tower. All his plans were thwarted before he could carry out his principles. The very "*extinguishers took fire*,"* before he could establish his courts of papal delegates, who might have succeeded his Council of Reformation, the Court of High Commission. The only instance in which the Froudian, or "*poisoning system*," of changing the

* It is possible that this expression may not be intelligible to every reader. I refer to a Persian tale, which has been versified by a modern poet, of the Anti-Protestant Religion. A certain King of Persia hated light; but the fires proceeding from the ground in Persia banished the darkness he loved, gave light to his people, and prevented his sleeping in peace. He commanded large extinguishers to be made and placed over the fires. The depth of darkness which followed convinced him that the fires were extinguished, and that the hateful light would return no more. Sadly was he disappointed. He was aroused from his first sound sleep by his people rushing into his palace to inform him that the light was larger and clearer than ever, for the extinguishers had all taken fire.—I pass over the interpretation given by Moore to the fable. He applies it to the Holy Alliance. I apply it to King James, and to all who would govern the souls of men on his principles. The light is the religion which unites freedom to enquire, with prayer to arrive at right conclusions from the Holy Scriptures and from the instructions of the Church. The extinguishers are the agents who are used by absurd and unjust authority, to put out that light. The extinguishers, the Popish Priesthood, will, one day or other, all take fire.*

* Moore's Fables for the Holy Alliance.

religion of the country was fairly tried, through all its stages, including the fifth, was in the reign of Mary; under the active influence of such magistrates as Bonner. The time had arrived when this last act of the system was attempted, and we must now consider both the agency of Bonner, and the result of the experiment.

I feel some difficulty in commencing this part of my vindication of Bonner, because of the unfortunate prejudice which attends the very mentioning of his name. We all remember the lines of Cowper—

“ Persecuting zeal made royal sport,
 “ With tortured innocence in Mary’s Court ;
 “ And Bonner, blithe as shepherd at a wake,
 “ Enjoyed the show, and danced about the stake.”*

The hatred against the memory of Bonner proceeds from that characteristic of his zeal in the fifth stage of the “*poisoning system*,” for which Cowper here calls him the “blithe Bonner.” This blitheness was only the cheerfulness of active zeal, conscious that he was but carrying out his principles, and enforcing by severity that authority of the Church over the consciences and souls of the Ultra-Protestants, which we “Tractarian British Critics” advocate and admire. We approve the principle; though we cannot at present openly venture to express our admiration of the manner in which this fifth stage of the process of converting the nation was attempted.

* Cowper’s Expostulation.

Burning a man for his opinions, is so universally obsolete, that I cannot oppose the general sentiment : and I confess, therefore, that the zeal of the "blithe Bonner" was frequently displayed in a manner which I could wish to have been otherwise. Yet who will not feel indignant at the obstinacy of the self-willed objectors to the reconciliation which had now taken place. Not only had the Houses of Lords and Commons, the Clergy in the Convocation, the Queen, and some part of the populace of London, expressed their satisfaction ; but the whole continent, excepting the provinces where the great schism had extended, hailed with rapture the re-conversion of England. Never was the Froudian or "*poisoning system*" more laboriously carried out, to induce the Ultra-Protestants also to change, with the mass of the people. No object, which the Christian can desire next to his own salvation, ought to be dearer to him than that very object which all who planned and effected this reconciliation, were most eager to accomplish—the unity of the Catholic Church : and this was declared both by Pole, the Queen, and the Chancellor, to be the only great point for which the change was made. The speech of Pole before the King, Queen, and both Houses of Parliament, which we have already considered eloquent, affectionate, pious, beautiful, and persuasive, the very model of a Froudian or "*poisoning*" harangue, was ended with the expression—"the unity of Christ's Church."* The proclamation of the Queen,

* Foxe, vol. vi., p. 571.

commanding bonfires to be kindled, anthems to be sung, and processions to be made by the people, to express their joy more evidently, uses the very same expression—that the whole realm was restored to the "unity of the Church."* It calls upon them to rejoice for the reconciliation and uniting of the realm to the rest of Christendom. When the Chancellor, as soon as it was believed to be convenient, after the reconciliation had been completed, summoned before him the first Ultra-Protestant, who was burnt under the revived laws against heresy; he began his expostulation with him by asking him if he would consent "to unite himself to the Catholic Church."† It was impossible to carry the Froudian or "*poisoning system*" further. The modern doctrine of toleration was then unknown: and if the enforcement of submission had been longer withheld, the strange notion would have seemed to be sanctioned that the whole world might be wrong, and the Ultra-Protestants be right—that England was better than Italy—that this island was set apart from the Continent to be the depository of God's peculiar truth, in the midst of an universal apostacy—that England was to the papal world, what Judea had been to the heathen world. The time, therefore, for severity had arrived. Bonner, as we shall see, was stimulated to the more stringent enforcement of the law by the repeated edicts and letters of the Queen

* Strype, Eccles. Mem., An. 1554, p. 167.

† Foxe, vol. vi, p. 593.

and council. His great fault was, that in his desire of unity, he forgot courtesy ; in his loyalty to the Queen, he exceeded the strict letter of the law ; in his Anti-Protestant piety, he imbibed too much the spirit and the temper of those churchmen who resolved to defend, by severity, the influence they had obtained by the plans which the infidel Gibbon calls "fraud"; but which we denominate by the softer word of the Froudian or "*poisoning system*."* Bonner agreed with our friend, Gabriel Gifford, the Archbishop of Rheims, that Protestantism is much worse than Paganism ;† and he desired as earnestly as we desire, to extirpate the very name of Protestant, as the characteristic of the Church, the laws, and the liberties of England. We desire, as I have said, to "unprotestantize," that is to papalize, to Romanize, to Catholicize, the people of England : and we will never rest, till we have either effected this object, or deserted as victims and martyrs, the Protestant Church itself. I have said, and I will abide by my determination, "*if the profession of the antient*

* The words of Gibbon, I believe, are, "Rome defended, by violence, the empire it had obtained by fraud."

† See the fourth chapter of his treatise, *De Justâ Reipublicâ Christianæ in reges impios, et Hereticos, autoritate, &c., &c.*—Antwerp, 1592. Among other reasons for his believing the Protestants to be worse than the Pagans is, that both Turks and Pagans pray for the dead, which Protestants do not.—Chap. iv., Sec. 5. As to Calvinism, he proves it to be much more detestable than Paganism. Mere Protestantism is only worse "deterius"; but Calvinism is "*longe detestabilius Paganismo*," Sec. v.

*truth be persecuted in our Church and its teaching forbidden, then doubtless, for a season, Catholic minds among us would be unable to see their way.”**

I express myself obscurely. The obscurity is intended. Those who know us best, understand us thoroughly. We will change the present Church of England, or we will resign our stations in its temples.

And now the great schism between Rome and England was ended. The unity of the Church was restored. Rome had conquered by its perseverance. England, wearied out by the controversy, submitted in fatigue, by deferring to the authority which promised peace, as the result of unity. The contract was thus formed between the Bishop of Rome, and the Church and State of England. The conditions of that contract were the same as Rome still proffers, but which we have not again accepted since Elizabeth broke the contract which was thus framed by her sister. These conditions were—on the part of Rome’s forgiveness ; on the part of England—the resignation, both of its Prayer-book and of the independance of its Episcopal Church ; the returning of the Scriptures to the custody of the Church to be granted out to the community as the Church pleased ; the extinction of that source of all Ultra-Protestant presumption—the demand to uphold conclusions on religion which the Church did not sanction, with the implicit reception

* British Critic, No. 59, p. 134.

of all that Church received and taught. Rome yielded nothing. England gave up everything. Rome demanded the utter and total abolition of all that the Church of England in its Senate and Convocation had decided to adopt as the reformed creed and discipline. England consented to the demand ; and so was the contract completed. And as a custom prevailed among the antients to confirm their contracts by the blood of a sacrifice, so was it found impossible to cement this mighty reconciliation, and to confirm this contract, without those necessary sacrifices, of which the policy is only now doubted ; because the consequences in England, though not in Spain and elsewhere, were unsuccessful. Bonner, as the Bishop of London, was one of the principal servants at the altar on which these unavoidable sacrifices were offered. The severities which were commended by the united high contracting parties were executed by Bonner, as the chief ecclesiastical magistrate of the time. They continued, if we date from the 28th of January, 1555, when the Court of Bishops and other Commissioners, to try causes of heretical pravity, was first opened at St. Mary Overie's Church, and when Rogers, the Protestant "Martyr," as he is absurdly called, was brought before them—till the 17th of November, when the Queen died—three years, nine months, and twenty days. The severities which marked the whole of this period have been confusedly related by Foxe, Strype, and Burnet. The details have been rendered so painfully interesting by one,

and so strangely slurred over by another ; so little care has been taken to observe the chronological order of the narratives, or to distinguish between the power which commanded the severities, and the authority which enforced them ; that I feel it to be necessary to the more perfect vindication of the patriotic Catholic Bishop Bonner, to analyze the history of this period in such manner that his character and conduct may be thoroughly understood, and the admiration of my dear friend Mr. Froude be more fully justified. We will arrange, therefore, the events of the interval between the first meeting of the Courts to try heretics, and the death of the Queen, under these divisions :—

1.—The object of the Queen, Council, the Court of Commissioners, and Bonner.

2.—The manner in which Bonner was stimulated to enforce the law with severity, by the repeated proclamations of the Court, by the letters of the King and Queen, and by the urgent remonstrances of the more zealous enemies of the Ultra-Protestant cause.

3.—The gentleness with which he received and expostulated with the prisoners.

4.—The harshness with which he is said to have treated them, and the inconsistency which conferred upon him the name of “Bloody Bonner.”

5.—And the causes which prevented the success of the labours of Mary to restore the unity of the Church. By pursuing this method, we shall avoid,

with Lingard, the confusion and horror of the long succession of revolting executions, which the obstinacy of the Ultra-Protestants, or mere Protestants, rendered indispensable. By thus bringing the narrative of the conduct of Bonner so far down as the end of the reign of Mary ; we shall not only more effectually vindicate the memory of this calumniated Bishop, but be enabled to derive an unanswerable argument in defence of the "*poisoning system*," which we are so quietly, slowly, calmly, perseveringly, and most effectually adopting against the modern Church of England.

I. With respect, then, to the object of the Queen, the Council, the Court of Bishops and Commissioners to try causes of heretical probity, and of the illustrious Bishop Bonner, of whom we are speaking, I am bound in candor to confess, that their objects were in principle, though not in detail, our own. They were briefly these :—1st. To suppress the opposition of religious individuals to their measures, by representing such persons as the enemies of God, the Church, and Christianity. 2nd. To uphold the "unity of the Church," by giving higher places to Rome and its Bishop, than were granted to them by the Reformers under Edward. 3rd. To restore the doctrine of the sacrifice of the body and blood of Christ in the communion. 4th. To inculcate the propriety of prayers for the dead. 5th. And to destroy the love of the people for the second Prayer-Book of King Edward.—These, as I have before

said, were Bonner's objects. These are ours. It may seem unnecessary to prove that they had precisely the same objects in view as we profess. I have already referred to the passages in my own tracts and reviews, to prove the nature of our own designs. I will briefly refer to the articles exhibited by Bonner to his prisoners, to identify his, with ours.

The first object was to suppress the opposition of religious individuals to their measures, by representing such persons as the enemies of God, the Church, and Christianity.

Those persons much mistake the policy, both of Rome and the Tractarians, who imagine that they hope to carry the "*poisoning system*" into effect, by beginning with institutions. Institutions are only the embodied laws and discipline which have been gradually established among communities, by the influence of individual minds upon the general mass. If we desire, therefore, eventually, to overthrow an institution, we endeavour to cover its principal upholders with reproach and infamy. We do not, therefore, at once propose to the British public, whom we are endeavouring to "*poison*," the overthrow of our existing Prayer-Book, Church, and Ecclesiastical discipline. We suggest certain changes, and we stigmatize those who withhold assent to those changes, by the names of "Evangelical, Methodistical, low Church, mere Protestant, Protestant, Ultra-Protestant." We speak of them as if they were ungentlemanly in demeanor, unworthy of notice, ignorant of

antiquity, perversers of Scripture. We deem them to be weak in intellect, deficient in judgment, betrayed by fancies, misled by groundless imaginations. If they are calm in argument, we will call them deficient in zeal. If they are energetic and active, we smile at their want of candor. If any one epithet has been considered to be a title of honor, and is, therefore, most frequently used against us with success; we will more peculiarly deride that word, and double our contempt against all who use it. This is the case with the word "Protestant." We cannot deny that, though we share the title with the Quaker, the Methodist, and the hateful low Churchman, we are ourselves still "Protestant;" because we have not at present ceased to disapprove, some at least of the conclusions of the Church of Rome. This word, however, is so generally used to describe the objections of our people to the opinions which they hold in common with Rome; but which the Church of England has either omitted or condemned, that we feel we can make but little progress in the "*poisoning system*," unless we can change the word "Protestant," from being a title of respect and honour, into an epithet of reproach and contempt. For this reason, we uniformly represent every writer, author, or controversialist, who admires the word Protestant, as utterly unworthy of our notice: and we have so far prospered, that we have many encouraging proofs of our success.* We de-

* Among others, I may mention that most decisive proof which took place at Durham. The very first division in the

nominate all who oppose us, (as Cardinal Borromeo, another Saint of the Most High, recommends,) in general terms, as wretched persons, Latitudinarians,* and so totally absurd as to be undeserving of attention. This plan was pursued with success in the reign of Mary. The Court, the Church, the Government, the higher classes, changed with the change, in the Sovereign. Those more active partizans, whose zeal had been rather political than religious, remained in quietness under the revived laws against heresy. Cecil, for instance, as Strype relates, retired in peace to his house at Burleigh, near Stamford, conformed to the times, and received the visits of Cardinal Pole. It became, under the frown of the Sovereign, as ungentlemanly to be a Protestant, as it would have been for an Herodian or Pharisee, to have been a disciple, when Christ was betrayed by Judas, and surrendered to the soldiers of Rome. It is on this account that we love the arguments so frequently

Convocation of the new University in that city, referred to the use of the word Protestant, in an address to the Queen. The word was omitted, by a majority of two to one. The Ultra-Protestants, Dr. Gilly and Mr. Townsend, were outvoted.

* Cardinal Borromeo, in his *Rhetorica Ecclesiastica*, recommends the clergy, in their sermons, when they preach against heretics, never to mention their arguments, lest they throw scruples into the minds of the people. Let them say, generally, that all heretics are wretched persons ; but I deem it more useful, that ecclesiastical orators should pass over, in silence, their pernicious opinions, as confuted and exploded by the most learned men in all ages.*

* See the original passage in Sharon Turner, vol. 8, p. 464.

derived by our brethren of the Church of Rome, from the number of the noble and antient families, who have never become Protestant. We wish that all the sacred feelings of the old Stewartine loyalty, and of attachment to ancestry and pedigree, shall be all united against Protestantism ; and that it shall be ungentlemanly to be a Protestant, and gentlemanly to be an Anti-Protestant. We shall have made great progress in our "*poisoning system*," if we can enlist chivalry and gentlemanliness on our side ; for the English are an aristocratical people, and many of them would rather err with a patrician, than be right with a plebian. Dr. Lingard, therefore, observes, with equal force and truth, that when the reconciliation with Rome had been once effected, and the influence of the Queen and the Court had restored the antient religion—"though it cannot be doubted, that among "the higher classes there were some who retained an "attachment to the doctrines which they professed "under Edward, and to which they afterwards re- "turned under Elizabeth : yet it will be useless to "seek among the names of the sufferers for a single "individual of opulence, rank, or importance. All, "all, of this description, embraced, or pretended to "embrace, the antient creed. The victims of perse- "cution, who dared to avow their real sentiments, "were found only in the lower walks of life,"* that is, they were vulgar, unrefined, ungentlemanly,

* Lingard's History of England, vol. vii., p. 282.—Octavo Edition—1823.

plebian people. They were, what we endeavour to represent the "Ultra-Protestants" uniformly to be. Bonner acted on the same principle. He, Gardiner, Weston, and other judges, addressed the prisoners, with few exceptions, as if they were too ignoble to receive the courtesies which were due to gentlemen. To this cause I impute the several expressions recorded by the odious John Foxe, which are neither gentle, to persuade the prisoners to recant; nor harsh and severe, in indignation at their obstinacy and folly: but which are merely uncourteous in contempt at their vulgarity and rudeness. "Have them away, have them away!" said Bonner to his attendants, when two young and wretched husbandmen, John Ardley and John Simson, were brought before him to be condemned.*—"Thou art weary of painting, and hast studied divinity, and so hast fallen, through thy departing from thy vocation, into heresy," he said to Robert Smith,† a yeoman of the guard, at Windsor.—"The obstinate fool," he said of Phillpotts, when he endeavoured in vain to persuade him to recant.‡—Anonymous letters were sent to Bonner, in which he was called "the common cut throat, and general slaughter slave to all the Bishops. I will keep out of your butcher's stall as long as I can. I do perceive by your great fat cheeks that you lack no

* Foxe—New Edition, vol. vii., p. 89.

† Foxe, vol. vii., p. 347.

‡ Foxe, vol. vii., p. 649.

“lamb’s flesh yet, and be like you are glutted with “supping so much blood :” with many similar illiberal and rude expressions. It was in allusion to these and similar letters, that Bonner remarked, on the trial of R. Smith, I know they call me “bloody Bonner.”* And it was not possible that he could esteem such Ultra-Protestants otherwise than as ungentlemanly, and inferior persons, and burn them, therefore, with less reluctance. He denied his blood-thirstiness, when another called him a “blood-sucker,”† and sentenced the speaker, a man of no rank, nor reputation, to be burned, without any mark of resentment at his insolence and vulgarity. When that poor ignorant pretender to the possession of exclusive truth, Ralph Allerton, whom Bonner had once saved from the fire, by kindly persuading him to recant, had relapsed into his errors, Bonner indeed seems to have lost his temper at the vulgar fellow’s obstinacy—“Thou whore-son, rebel, and prick-louse, thou,” he called him ; “dost thou find a prophecy in Daniel concerning us.”‡ The miserable fellow had gone about the country preaching against Popery : yet his vulgarity offended Bonner more than his heresy. “He is a glorious knave—whore-son, prick-louse,” said the Bishop. Allerton was probably a tailor : and it could not be endured that a recanting, relapsing tailor, should dispute with his

* Compare p. 349 and p. 712, vol. vii.

† Foxe, vol. vii., p. 746.

‡ Foxe, vol. viii., p. 407.

own Bishop, the true, worthy, evident representative, not merely in succession, but in zeal, doctrine, and language, of the Holy Apostles. I could quote other expressions to his prisoners, which appear to me to savour neither of gentleness nor of severity, but of contempt and scorn only, at the vulgar, Protestant, low Church piety ; which clothes its personal religion in the language of quoted texts, or enthusiastic or passionate expressions : and thus censures, by its very devotion, the decisions of the antient Church. From the time when he called the bystanders, who hissed him at his trial before the Commissioners, in the reign of Edward, “woodcocks,”* to the day when after his deprivation, in the reign of Elizabeth, he retorted the sarcasm on the stranger who insulted him in the streets† ; his whole conduct implied the most lofty disdain for the opponents of the Church of Rome. He entertained for the heretics of his day, the same contempt and scorn which I and my brethren feel for the Reformers, the low Church, and the Ultra-Protestant. I sympathize with Bonner in his generous aversion, and on this account, among others, I vindicate and honor his memory.

* Collier doubts whether our respected Bishop said of the witnesses, that one talked like a goose, and another like a woodcock. He only believes that he swore once in answer to Sir Thomas Smith.—Collier, vol. ii., p. 278, ed. 1714.

† The anecdote is—That a stranger met and saluted him with—“Good-morrow, Bishop *Quondam*,” to which Bonner as promptly replied—“Farewell, knave *Semper*.”

The one great design of the Queen, the Council, and of Bonner, was to uphold that "unity of the Church" which was now identified with submission to Rome. I am not quite prepared, as I have said, to purchase the "unity of the Church," at present, with this price. I have said, that "*till Rome moves towards us, we cannot move towards Rome ;*" but as we are daily moving towards Rome, I am not prepared to decide whether friendship with Rome is not worthy of purchase at some greater sacrifice than we have already made. Implicit submission to Rome, in all its faith, discipline, and supremacy, we are certainly not yet willing to grant ; and if there can be unity on no other terms, that desirable object is, assuredly, at a great distance ; and Mr. Townsend's opinion appears to be more defensible, that Rome must change before the Catholic Church be again one, holy, united body. But our object is unity ; and in every act of Mary's Council, in every proclamation of her Government, in every paper of accusation against the Ultra-Protestants of the day, the "unity of the Church," in the form of submission to Rome, was continually kept in view, as the one principal object of the reconciliation with the Holy See, and the severe laws which followed it. This was the request made by the Chancellor Gardiner to the first who was burnt ; "Are ye content to unite yourself to the faith of the holy Catholic Church with us—the Lord Cardinal has come—the Parliament hath received his blessing—such an unity—such a miracle hath not been

“seen.” And the Proto-Martyr of England, in the reign of Mary was burnt, in spite of his declaration that he never could, nor did dissent from the Catholic Church, because he would not partake of the unity of the Church of Rome, purchased by the submission of England.* “Will you come into our Church,” said Gardiner, “with the Bishops and the whole “realm, and arise out of error and schism?” “I “will prove to you,” said the Proto-Martyr, “that “all I have taught is true and Catholic.” “It shall “not, may not, ought not to be granted to you to “prove it,” was the answer: “for you are but a “private man, and may not be heard against the de- “termination of the whole realm”: and our language, I must confess, is the same to all those who with this man, appeal as individuals, to their own notions of the Catholic Church, and to their own declaration that the laws of man may not and cannot rule the word of God.† I must acknowledge that both I and my friends are unwilling, with Bonner and Gardiner, to believe that any individual can be right against the Church, the Bishops, the Government, the Parliament, the Sovereign, and the Convocation; all of whom, in this instance, had sanctioned the “unity of the Church,” which this one Ultra-Protestant condemned. The “unity of the Church” was the point most insisted upon by Bonner, in his first address to the Clergy and Laity of his Diocese, after their reconciliation to

* Foxe, vol. vi., p. 593, new edition.

† Foxe, vol. vi., p. 597.

Rome. This address is loved by me and my friends, as expressing most fully and explicitly our own sentiments on the subject of heresy, schism, and unity. "Whereas this noble realm of England, dividing itself from the unity of the Catholic Church," it begins, "and from the agreement in religion with all other Christian realms, &c., &c., therefore we require all to be restored to the *unity of the Church*."* In nearly all the articles of Bonner, as I have said, which were drawn up as the indictments against the prisoners who were burnt, the violation of the "unity of the Church," as it was effected by submission to Rome, was one of the principal. This was the crime of Causton and Higbed,† that they had departed from the Catholic faith in which they had been born. They had dared to think for themselves, and to depart, with Cranmer and his coadjutors, from the "unity of the Church." "Do you believe, as the Catholic Church believes?" was one question to Pigot, Knight, and Lawrence.‡ "Thou hast not believed, and dost not believe," said Bonner to Simson and Ardley, "that the faith and religion which both the Church of Rome, Italy, Spain, England, France, Ireland, Scotland, and all the Churches in Europe do believe and teach; but thou dost believe them to be false, erroneous, and naught."* Those are heretics, was alledged

* Foxe, vol. vi., p. 709.

† Foxe, vol. vi., p. 730.

‡ Foxe, vol. vi., p. 738.

§ Foxe, vol. vii., p. 87.

against Hall and Wade, who believe not as our Holy Mother Church believes.*—"I object to you," said Bonner to Derick and Carver, "that you offend against the Catholic faith of the Church."†—The very crime, and repressed in the very words which we urge against the Ultra-Protestants, who make the Catholic Church teach that only which they believe. "Ye do refuse," said Bonner to the seven, who were afterwards burned together in one fire, "to be reconciled again to the unity of the Church."‡—"You have fallen from the Universal Church of Christ," said Brokes, the Papal delegate, in the opening of this bitter harangue to Cranmer at his trial.§ "Philip and Mary," he added, "perceiving how this noble realm of England hath been brought from the unity of the true and Catholic Church, have requested the Pope, as its Supreme Head, to judge thee."||—"We never refuse," said one, "to be reconciled and brought to the true unity of the Catholic Church of Christ; but we do refuse to be reconciled to the religion now established in England."¶ When John Newman, an ancestor, I believe, of my illustrious friend at Oxford, but who I think, was more of a Protestant than my friend, defended his refusing to be reconciled to the Church

* Foxe, vol. vii., p. 318.

† Foxe, vol. vii., p. 324.

‡ Foxe, vol. vii., p. 716.

§ Foxe, vol. viii., p. 46.

|| Foxe, vol. viii., p. 50.

¶ Foxe, vol. viii., p. 152.

of Rome ; he professed to have been convinced by the teaching of the preachers for seven years, in the time of King Edward, that their view of the Catholic Church was correct. I cannot learn from my friend's books, whether he agrees most with his martyred ancestor, or with Bishop Bonner. But of this, I am sure, that John Newman, of Maidstone, in the reign of Mary, who was burnt by Bonner, at Tenterden,* was much more of an Ultra-Protestant, than his descendant John Newman, of Oriel College, Oxford, Vicar of St. Mary's ; and, I am sure also, that the opinions of John Newman, who was burnt, on transubstantiation, are further from the doctrines of the Church of Rome, and I must say also, are more intelligible, than the opinions of the Oriel John Newman, on the same subject, lately published : but I hail it as one peculiar sign of the times, that an Oxford teacher, clergyman, and (till he actually becomes a member of the Church of Rome) a Protestant clergyman, should rejoice the hearts of my brethren of Rome ; by endeavouring to reconcile the abjuration of the doctrines of transubstantiation, with some other novel, not clearly defined, notion of the same doctrine. The modern John Newman is a more voluminous theologian than his ancestor. The faith of the latter shone bright in the fire of his martyrdom. The faith of the former, as a Protestant, gleams obscurely in the smoke of his writings. The latter appeals to Scripture—the former to the Church

* Foxe, vol. vii., p. 335, and vol. viii., p. 243.

and to the Scripture. The modern Oxford John Newman, speaking theoretically, assures us that the Church of Rome alone, amid all the errors and evils of her practical system, has given free scope to the feelings of *awe, mystery, reverence, devotedness, tenderness, and other feelings* which may be especially called Catholic.* The former Maidstone or Tenterden John Newman, understood experimentally, the real meaning of these kind and courteous words. Free scope was given to his feelings of *awe*, when he gazed, with mournful firmness, on the fire which burnt him. Deep was the feeling of *mystery*, which Rome inspired, when he endeavoured to comprehend the doctrine of the sacrament, and the possible connection between the truth of transubstantiation and the faggots of Smithfield. The feeling of *reverence*, he certainly did not experience so singularly, as his descendant of Oriel: neither was the *devotedness* of John Newman, senior, to the Church of Rome, equal to the devotedness of the modern John Newman, junior. With respect to the feelings of *tenderness* with which Rome inspired John Newman, senior, he certainly did not at all understand the *tenderness* which bound him to the stake, set fire to the faggots, and consumed him to ashes; but with respect to the feelings of *tenderness* with which Rome inspired John Newman, junior; he possibly imputes that to Rome which he may owe to the Ultra-Protestant laws, which he so thoroughly despises: for he

* Newman's letter to Dr. Jelf, pp. 27 and 28.

may be assured that the *tenderness* which Rome now displays to the Protestants, who hate the word "Protestant," and pay court to Rome, without marrying that Lady, is very different from the *tenderness* it might exert towards them, if the strong hand of the Protestant laws did not direct and regulate the manifestation of its love. The first John Newman found the difference between the Church of England reconciled to Rome, and the Church of England unreconciled to Rome, to be so great, that he died at the stake on account of that difference. The second John Newman assures us, that "*Popery being a corruption of the truth*, must be so like "the truth it counterfeits, that the resemblance of "his doctrines to Popery cannot be the proof of any "essential approximation to the same. It would, on "the contrary, be an argument against his doctrines, "if they did not resemble Popery. For if they bore "no likeness to it, Ultra-Protestantism could never "have been silently corrupted into Popery."* The force of this learned, ingenious, candid, and convincing argument, to prove to us that the doctrines of the Protestant and Papistical Church of England resembled each other; and, therefore, if they did so, that a man must have been absurd to have been burnt for his opinions—while the poor martyr esteemed the difference between them to be as great as that of life from death, darkness from light, or

* Introduction to the third volume of Newman's Sermons. Oxford, 1837.

God from Satan ; did not satisfy the first John Newman, for he went to the stake, and was burnt. Neither did it satisfy the ancestor of another eminent modern theologian, Richard Hook, the next martyr to John Newman,* who suffered about the same season, and for the same matter, at Chichester. He, too, in spite of the apostolical succession, could not perceive that the authority of the Church was to be employed in preserving the "Unity of the Church," when the uninspired Church taught doctrines which the individual believer in the Gospel of Christ was convinced were contrary to the inspired Scriptures of God. Neither the Newmans nor Hooks of the reign of Mary were convinced that to submit to the authority of the Church, unless they believed the Church to speak the truth, was a proof of Christian meekness.† "The unity of the Church," said Bonner, "makes me burn Newman and Hook." If another reconciliation with Rome were again to take place, by the submission of the Sovereign, the Senate, the Clergy, and the Convocation to the Papal mandate, commended by the blindness or eloquence of a Papal Legate ; and if other Bonners should arise among us to enforce by severity the laws which are enacted in such *tenderness*, and from love to the "unity of the Church," we may at least congratulate ourselves on one anticipation. If all such Newmans and Hooks

* Foxe, vol. viii., p. 339.

† See Newman's Sermon on Submission to the Church, vol. iii., p. 223.

as lived in the reign of Mary were to become so changed that they are as unable to perceive the great difference between the Church of Rome and the Edwardian, or existing Church of England, as the modern Newmans and Hooks of the reign of Victoria; then the laws to burn heretics might be again revived with perfect harmlessness and safety: for the fires of Smithfield, of Saffron Walden, and of Chichester, could never again be kindled, not for want of persecutors to burn, but for want of victims to endure the burning.

I could refer to other proofs that the enforcement of the unity of the Church by submission to Rome was one great object of all the Anti-Protestant party; and that both they and the Ultra-Protestant party considered the difference between Rome and themselves to be as great as between happiness and misery: but I wish to prove that the other objects of Bonner, the affirmation of a sacrifice in the Eucharist, the offering of prayers for the dead, and the condemnation of the Service Book of King Edward, the modern Prayer-Book, because of the manner in which the first of these doctrines was taught, and the second omitted—are the same with those of the “Tractarian British Critics,” and that on these accounts also we are justified in defending the calumniated Bonner.

With respect to the doctrine of an actual sacrifice in the Eucharist, it can, I think, be proved that no one victim was burnt, no one prisoner was accused of Protestantism or heresy, without this charge being

implied, or expressed, as one of the articles of their indictment; that they disbelieved in the actual sacrifice of the body and blood of Christ in the Holy Communion. This was done before the Articles of the Creed of Pope Pius were drawn up; that is, before the Council of Trent had ceased to sit. This doctrine was held in the reign of Henry VIII. It was rejected in the reign of Edward the Sixth, when the articles of the existing Church of England, as we now hold them, were drawn up partly against this very doctrine. It was revived in the reign of Mary, and rejected again by the restoration of those Articles, in an abridged form, in the reign of Elizabeth, to be once more advocated by me and by my brethren in the present day. We agree with my dear friend, Dr. Pusey, that the Eucharist is the true commemorative sacrifice, representing to God the death and passion of his Son*—that in the Eucharist a sacrifice is made by the Church to God—that this sacrifice was predicted by Malachi, as that which the Gentiles should offer—and that it is enjoined in the words “do this, “or sacrifice this, in remembrance of me.” This we affirm to be the doctrine of the early Church, and this we affirm to be our doctrine.† The Thirty-nine Articles, therefore, were intended to exclude from the Church of England those who held the doctrine of an actual sacrifice in the Eucharist; before the Council of Trent, in the Creed of Pope Pius, af-

* Pusey's Letter to the Bishop of Oxford, p. 140.

† Tracts, No. 81, p. 4.

firmed the doctrine to be that of the existing Church of Rome—and, therefore, it is that another of my dear friends, the late Professor Keble, is right when he observes, “*that persons imbued with Catholic principles, are, in some points, staggered by the tone and wording of the articles.*”* No mistake is so great as the imagination that the formularies of the existing Church of England were drawn up in opposition only to the Council of Trent: and I fear, therefore, that I cannot quite agree with my brother who wrote Tract 90, that the Articles may be signed by those who disapprove of the Council of Trent only. None ought to sign them, who believed in the doctrines which were held by the accusers and Anti-Protestant burners of the Marian victims: and my friends, less bold than I am, in the carrying out of their principles, will not act consistently till they leave the Communion which they cannot deny to be Protestant, and form a Communion of their own: and I rejoice to hear my dear friend Keble boldly affirms that the time has come, when we must retire as the non-jurors did from the Church, and form another Communion, unless we can obtain a dispensation from explaining the Thirty-nine Articles in the sense in which they are held by the Bishops who oppose our present interpretation—or if we do not form al-

* See the case of Catholic Subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles considered: with especial reference to the duties and difficulties of English Catholics in the present crisis—in a letter to Judge Coleridge—by the Rev. John Keble, pp. 6-7.

together a new Communion, we must retire into a diocese where we may teach them in our own, and not in the generally received sense.* It certainly does not seem to me (as one anxious to follow out my principles, and not to disguise them) to be possible for any Christian who believes either that there is an actual sacrifice of the body and blood of Christ in the Eucharist, or that prayers are to be offered for the dead, or that the Prayer-book of King Edward is an inadequate liturgy for the devotions of the people ; to remain in the present Church of England, which was reformed by the rejection of the two first, and by the adoption of the last of these ; at the risk, or at the expence of the lives of the Ultra-Protestant Reformers ; whom, in common with the Church of Rome, both before, during, and after the Council of Trent, we despise, deride, and abhor. I am sure that I shall be supported in this opinion, by all who consider the exceedingly energetic language in which my dear Bonner, and his coadjutors, uniformly urged upon their absurd victims, the doctrines which he, and I, and my brethren, now approve ; but which the martyrs, if I must call them so, with the present Church, in which we still linger, condemned and opposed. All these, from Rogers or Matthews, the translator of the Bible, the first who was burnt in Smithfield, to the last who was burnt at Smithfield, and to the last who were burnt at Canterbury, immediately before the death of Mary,

* Keble's Letter, pp. 27-31.

were questioned on the subject, not of Transubstantiation, as the Council of Trent defined it; but of the sacrifice of the body of Christ, as the Catholic Church received it, and as the existing Church of England condemns the doctrine. "Do you believe," said the Bishop of Carlisle,* to Rogers, the proto-martyr, "that in the sacrament is the very body and blood of Christ? What is our doctrine of the sacrament?" "False," quoth the martyr.† "Do you believe," said Bonner, to Holland, the last who was burnt at Smithfield, "that after the words of consecration, there remaineth the body of Christ, really and corporeally under the forms of bread and wine?—wilt thou confess the real and corporal presence of Christ's body in the sacrament?" Much conversation followed: at length said Holland, "I believe the mass, transubstantiation, and the worshipping of the sacrament, to be mere impiety, and horrible idolatry:"‡ and the Ultra-Protestant was burnt. So also, with the last who were burnt at Canterbury. "They were adjudged to the fire," says the hateful Martyrologist, "for believing the body of Christ not to be in the sacrament of the altar:"§ and it would be tedious to go through the list, and extract the same accusations in the indictments, or the same sentence pronounced against the delin-

* Aldrich.

† Foxe, vol. vi., pp. 598, 599.

‡ Foxe, vol. viii., p. 478.

§ Foxe, vol. viii., p. 504.

quents. "He did not believe," was a part of the sentence against Rogers, "that in the sacrament of
 "the altar is substantially and really the natural body
 "and blood of Christ."* "Thou deniest the verity of
 "Christ's body and blood in the sacrament of the
 "altar," said Bonner to Causton and Higbed, before
 he burnt them.† "Is it true that ye speak against
 "the true presence of Christ's natural body in the
 "sacrament of the altar?" said Bonner, to Pigot,
 Knight, and Lawrence,‡ and they were burnt. "Thou
 "art of opinion," was alleged against the fanatic
 who struck the Priest as he was holding the cha-
 lice—"that in the sacrament of the altar, after the
 "words of the consecration, there is not really,
 "and truly, and in very deed, contained, under the
 "form of bread, the very true and natural body
 "of our Saviour,"—and for this, as well as for his
 indefensible assault, William Flower was burnt.§
 "He believeth that the substance of material bread
 "and wine doth remain in the sacrament of the altar,
 "after the consecration," was the charge of Bon-
 ner against Wats.|| "He believes," said the Earl
 of Oxford, when he sent a prisoner to Bonner,—
 "that in the sacrament of the altar, under the forms
 "of bread and wine, there is not the very substance

* Foxe, vol. vi., p. 601.

† Foxe, vol. vi., p. 731.

‡ Foxe, vol. vi., p. 738.

§ Foxe, vol. vii., p. 72.

|| Foxe, vol. vii., p. 120.

“of Christ’s body and blood, but only the substance
“of material and common bread and wine;”* and
the prisoners were burnt. “He hath maintained
“heresy, against the blessed sacrament of the altar,”
said Bonner of Philpotts, and he pulled off his cap
with reverence, “he would not allow the real pre-
“sence of the body and blood of Christ in the same,”†
and the learned, eloquent, and unanswerable theolo-
gian was consigned to the flames. “Ye have affirmed,”
said Bonner to seven criminals who were afterwards
burned in one fire, “that in the sacrament of the altar
“there is none other substance, but only material
“bread and wine; and that the substance of Christ’s
“body and blood is in nowise in the said sacrament
“of the altar.”‡ “How say you, sirrah,” said Bon-
ner to another whom he burnt, “after the words of
“consecration, be spoken by the priest, there remain-
“eth no bread, but the very body of our Saviour Jesus
“Christ, God and man, and none other substance
“under the form of bread.”§ Then followed a con-
versation on the nature of Christ’s body, resembling
former conversations on accidents and substances,
and the various unintelligibilities which, from Rad-
bert to Newman, now of Oriel College, Oxford,
have characterized the disputants on this topic. All
these I omit, as well as my dear Bonner’s illus-

* Foxe, vol. vii., p. 140.

† Foxe, vol. vii., p. 630.

‡ Foxe, vol. vii., p. 716.

§ Foxe, vol. viii., p. 410.

tration of the nature of the change in the Eucharist, from a piece of beef being of the same nature, though part was eaten at his table and part was sent to the cook to be made to resemble bread.* I am unwilling to condemn the representative of the apostles, —I can only say that I comprehend his illustration with the same facility as I comprehend the illustration of my brother Newman. Both were equally clear, and equally worthy of the high reputation of Oxford theologians, whether in antient or modern days, who endeavour to make the doctrine in question clear to the simple Christian. Both Bonner and Newman, and I, his brother Tractarian, are thus all agreed ; and are all equally anxious to induce the belief among the people, of an actual sacrifice of the body and blood of Christ, made by the priest in the sacrament of the altar. “Why, indeed,” as my friend Froude observes, “why should we hesitate to say that the “priest makes the body and blood of Christ ;”—and why, therefore, I add, shall I and my brethren hesitate to say that as they are there, so also are they offered, as an actual sacrifice, in the sacrament of the altar. If this be Popery—we are not Protestants. We are Papists ; and our position, as my friend Keble says, is a “*very delicate one indeed.*”†

Another object of Bonner, of his coadjutors, of the Queen, the Government, the Council, and the

* Foxe, vol. viii., p. 410.

† See Keble's Letter to Coleridge.

Clergy, was the restoration of the prayers for the dead, which I have shewn, in my Tracts, to have been common to all the antient liturgies, without one exception ; though I confess that it does not appear to be supported by the Scriptures, either of the Old or of the New Testament. We are most anxious to restore this practice. It is sanctioned by tradition. It was taught in the first Prayer-book of King Edward, and we have urged many arguments which I shall not here repeat, to convince the people of its antiquity, and—I was about to say of its usefulness : but as this is rather difficult, I shall only say, of its adaptation to the affections of human nature, and of its gratifying the imagination, though without commending itself to the reason, which derives its instruction from the inspired revelation of the written Scriptures, and not from the uninspired opinions of the unwritten tradition. So it is, however, that we both advocate the doctrine that the “*dead in Christ obtain additional joys and satisfactions from the prayers of their brethren*:”* and if this also is Popery, I confess that we are Papists : though indeed it is not necessary to make this confession in the present instance, for our not praying for the dead is an omission only. The Church of England “*nowhere restrains her children from praying for their departed friends*.”† “Will you have nobody to pray for you when you “be dead,” said Bonner to Hawkes, whom he burnt.

* Tract, No. 81, p. 7.

† Tracts, vol. 3, p. 22.

“No, surely,” was the answer, “unless you prove “the doctrine by the Scriptures”: an answer which Gardiner declared in another instance deserved the fire; for he who professed his belief in the Scriptures only, announced himself to be a heretic, and was only fit for damnation. “Will you not grant “the prayer of a righteous man to prevail,” rejoined Bonner. “Yes!” was the answer, “for the living, “not for the dead.” “Not for the dead!” exclaimed Bonner, in contempt and surprize.* Hawkes was burnt, and never, I must say, did the Ultra-Protestant cause produce a nobler victim. “Give us a token, “when you are burning in the flames,” said one of his Ultra-Protestant friends, “whether the pain be so “great that it is not possible therein to keep the mind “quiet and patient.” “I will do so,” said the sufferer, “if the rage of the pain be endurable, and may “be borne, I will lift up my hands above my head “towards heaven before I die.” And he did so. When his powers of speech had ceased: when his skin had shrivelled like burning parchment on his writhing body, and his fingers had been consumed by the fire; he lifted up the stumps of his arms, made an effort to clasp the wreck of his limbs together, and thus, like the witnesses whom St. Paul enumerates—“He quenched the violence of fire.” There was a sense in which the old promise was fulfilled; “when thou walkest through the fire, I will be with “thee, and the flame shall not kindle upon thee.” But I am talking like an Ultra-Protestant.

* Foxe, vol. vii., p. 103.

“What say you of prayer for the dead?” said Gardiner, to another who was burnt. “Is it not meet that if a man’s friend be dead, his friend commend his soul unto God. Is it not meet that prayer be made unto God, for his soul.” The answer was such as the Protestant only could give.* “Thou hast taught,” said Bonner, to another, “that prayers to Saints, or prayers for the dead are not available, and not allowable by God’s word, or profitable in any wise; and that the souls departed do straightways go to heaven or to hell”:† and so, as in the former case, I could collect many instances from the old martyrologist, to prove that the restoration among the people of the doctrine that prayers for the dead were advisable and useful, was as much one object with Bonner, as it is with us the Tractarians of the present day; but I pass them all by to beg the attention of my-reader to the illustration of the value of the doctrine, as well as to Bonner’s zeal for its establishment, afforded us by the historian Strype.‡

On the 16th of October, Ridley and Latimer, the two Bishops in whose actions and memory the Ultra-Protestants of England have ever boasted and rejoiced, were brought to the same fire in Oxford. Their last words are well known—“Be of good cheer, brother Ridley, and play the man; we shall this day light such a candle, by God’s grace,

* Foxe, vol. viii., p. 543.

† Foxe, vol. viii., p. 313.

‡ Eccles. Mem., Mary.—An. 1555, Nov., p. 229.

“in England, as I trust shall never be put out:” and, “Oh, Father of Heaven, receive my soul!” were the last words of Latimer, as he seemed to bathe his hands in the flame; and died an old and worn-out man, with little sense of pain. “Lord have mercy upon me—let the fire come to me—I cannot burn—mercy—I cannot burn,” were the last words of the longer tortured and more deeply suffering Ridley, and so they both died; and the effects of their martyrdoms have not yet ceased from among us. On the day of their death, or three days after, Gardiner is said to have anxiously expected the news of their execution, and to have rejoiced, before he dined, that the reconciliation with Rome was strengthened by this additional and splendid sacrifice. On that same day, however, the sentence was pronounced, though by no human voice, that the soul of Gardiner, as well as the souls of Latimer and Ridley, should be summoned to give up its account to God. The dart of death struck his body, and the excruciating pains he endured were longer in duration, and possibly not altogether less intense in their agony, than those of his brother Bishops at the stake. But with respect to the comfort which they had in their souls, the arrows of the Almighty seemed fixed in the spirit of Gardiner; while the consolations of Heaven had dropped, as the dew of the morning, making calm the souls of the sufferers at Oxford; amidst the exploding gunpowder on their necks, and the burning faggots round their parched

and shrivelled bodies. Even if the expression "I have sinned with Peter, but with Peter I have not repented," be not certainly imputed to him with truth, a worse proof of the absence of the comforts of the Gospel from the soul of the dying Chancellor was given by his speech to the visitor who began to speak to him in his agonies on the free justification of a sinner by the blood of Christ the Saviour. "Do not open that gap," said the wretched wealthy, successful persecutor. He found no comfort in that doctrine, and no words of hope, or faith, or confidence, are reported of his bed of death. Thus his last hour approached, and Bonner visited Gardiner, and saw that sad sight; but what passed between them is known only to themselves and their God. So Gardiner lingered till the twenty-eighth day after the death of Ridley and Latimer; and till the separation of his soul from his body, at midnight, on the 13th of November: and then "*the high gifts and strong claims of the Church of Rome, and its dependence on our admiration, reverence, love, and gratitude*,"* more especially and peculiarly appeared. The Protestants, on the death of their friends, mourn for their loss, but they leave their souls to God. We, the Tractarians, in common with the Church of Rome, mourn also for their loss, but commend their souls to God, "*by our prayers for the additional joys and satisfactions*"† in their new

* Tract, No. 24, p. 7.

† Tract, No. 81, p. 7.

state of existence. This Bonner did. On the 14th of November, the mass of requiem was sung for Gardiner by Bonner, Bishop of London, the other Bishops, Lords, Knights, and Gentlemen being present. Bonner, yes Bonner, prayed for the soul of Gardiner !!! What was his prayer ? If we look to the services of the Church of Rome, and my friend Froude says that he "*can see no other claim which the Prayer-book has on a layman's deference, as the teaching of the Church, which the Breviary and the Missal have not in a far greater degree,*"* we shall find that the souls of the faithful are not commended to God only. God alone is not requested to deliver them from the power of the enemy. He is intreated, in the common mass for the dead, by the intercession of the Blessed Mary, ever a Virgin, and of all the Saints, that the souls for which the petitioners prayed, may be admitted to the enjoyment of eternal happiness.† Bonner then prayed to the Saints to intercede for the soul of Gardiner. To whom then did he pray ? I see them ! I see them ! Rome has elevated them to the throne on which John saw but the one intercessor. Rome has placed them *there* as the joint intercessors or mediators with the Lamb that was slain. Rome has placed on that throne of the Mediator, since the days of John, other Mediators, other Saints, intercessors

* Froude's Remains, vol. 1, p. 402.

† See the Missal published by Keating and Brown, 1815; p. 518, &c., &c.

with God for the souls of the faithful. Hildebrand, Becket, and Innocent are there raised by Rome on the throne of the Lamb of God, as joint intercessors to the Father with Christ. We, the Tractarians of the Church of England, will endeavour to keep them there ; and to persuade our countrymen to adopt our pious opinion, that those blessed Saints of the Most High are to be honored and invoked. And I see them,—I see them on the throne of the Mediator. One difference only distinguishes them from the Saints who are described by St. John. Like those Saints, “*they have come out of great tribulation ;*” but it is the tribulation they inflicted, not the tribulation they suffered. Hildebrand, Innocent, Becket, the men whom we, the Tractarians of Oxford, in the year of our Lord 1841, in this Protestant England, have denominated “*the blessed Saints of the Most High,*” divide with Christ, the one Mediator of the New Testament, the throne of the many Mediators of the Church of Rome. They listen to the prayer of Bonner for the soul of Gardiner. The soul of Gardiner has returned to the God who gave it. The soul of Gardiner most certainly needed all the prayers his earthly friends could offer ; and all the intercessions which even Hildebrand, Innocent, and Becket could make for him. The free pardon by the blood of the cross gave him no comfort, as he was dying ; and the Church of Rome alone, in the absence of such comfort, can compensate for its loss, by the prayers of the living for the dead, and by the intercession of other Me-

diators than the Crucified. His soul needed their prayers. As his garments may be said to have been blackened with the smoke, and his face reddened with the luridness, of the flames he had kindled ; so his soul was black with the guilt, and his conscience was spotted with the blood of the victims he had slain for God's honour, in the name of the Church. Never did soul of man leave the visible world for the invisible, which more certainly required all the aid—which Christ has not given ; but which we, the Tractarians, sanction ; and which Rome offers to its children. Gardiner was dying ! the wavering Gardiner ! neither true Protestant, nor true Papist—neither constant in error, nor stedfast in truth—neither a friend to the Pope, nor the enemy to Christ—false to King Henry, and omitted in his will—a dissembler to King Edward—a double perjured murderer in the reign of Mary—the principal negociator of the divorce of Henry from Catherine*—the enemy of the Protestant-German influence at Ratisbon,† where he was supposed to be secretly reconciled to Rome—the adviser of Henry in the affair of Lambert—the instigator of the Act of the Six Articles, under which the Papist and Protestant were burnt with equal impartiality‡—the opponent of the translation of the Bible, in the reign of Henry§—and yet the declarer, in the reign of Edward, that the Holy Scriptures contained sufficiently all doctrine required, of necessity, for eternal salvation ; and that nothing is to be taught, as required of necessity

* 1528–1533,

† 1538.

‡ 1539,

§ 1542

to be believed, but that which is concluded and proved by Scripture*—the constant opponent of the supremacy of the Pope,† in his book “*de Verâ Obedientiâ*”—the affirmer that the confession not the person of St. Peter was the rock on which the Church was built—that “*feed my sheep*,” was equally addressed to all the Apostles—that Peter was the chief of the Apostles, as the foreman only of the Apostles—that the power of the keys was given equally to all the Apostles—Gardiner! for fourteen years together, the uniform, zealous, earnest, and forward opponent of Papal supremacy‡—the objector also to the antient ceremonies, to monkery, and to images—and yet the approver of the Communion-book of King Edward, and the retractor of all this when Mary came to the throne—Gardiner, the adviser, as Chancellor of the kingdom, of the revival of the antient laws against heresy and the exiles—He, Gardiner, was now about

* See this and other Ultra-Protestant Confessions of Faith, by Gardiner.—Foxe, vol. vii., p. 83.

† When he was made Bishop, (1540), he took an oath that the Bishop of Rome had no authority, jurisdiction, or power, within this realm. But he must have taken this oath with reference to the temporal, not the spiritual power of the Pope: for even my friend, Mr. Newman, acknowledges that the Pope has some power, that is some spiritual power, within these realms; or he could not have subjected himself to the rebuke of Mr. Golightly, for leaving out the words “temporal or spiritual,” when he quoted the oath, denying the jurisdiction of the Pope within these realms.

‡ See the quotations, proofs, and references, in Foxe, vol. vii., p. 595.

to die, and the name of Christ gave no comfort to his soul. But Bonner prayed for his soul—he prayed with as much benefit for that soul, as Hildebrand, Innocent, and Becket interceded, for its salvation. Never did the soul of a sinner require more certainly the offering, by his friends, of the prayers for the dead, if such prayers could, by possibility, bless him. Never did such a friend as Bonner, pray for the soul of such a friend as Gardiner. But if the prayers of the living for the dead, benefitted the dead,—if, as my friend Froude says—“*those people are injudicious who talk against Roman Catholics for worshipping Saints and honoring the Virgin Mary,*”*—if Hildebrand, at the request of Bonner, interceded, together with the Virgin Mary, for the soul of Gardiner, where were now the souls of Ridley and Latimer? Who interceded for them? What Saints mediated for them? Hildebrand would not pray for them! Innocent would not implore God for them! Thomas of Canterbury would not mediate for them, though he was an English Saint. If the feelings of earth are taken by the soul to Heaven, and if the feelings of earth, therefore, remain with those whom Rome has canonized, Thomas Becket would have interceded for Gardiner, much more than for Ridley and Latimer. Gardiner had commanded the image of Becket, at the commencement of the same year, to be

* Froude, vol. i., p. 294.

replaced over the gate of St. Thomas of Acres,* in the habit of a Bishop, with his mitre and crosier. Ridley and Latimer had taught that the worship of Saints was to be abolished, and that Henry did well to remove the body of Becket from his shrine, and to command the adoration of his worshippers to cease. The teaching of Latimer and Ridley so influenced the benighted Ultra-Protestants in spite of the edict of the Anti-Protestant Gardiner, that, within two days after the Image had been replaced on its pedestal, the two fingers, which were held up in blessing, were broken off, and, the next night, both his neck and his crosier were broken. Again the Image was set up, again it was defaced. Men were punished on suspicion. Proclamations were published—rewards were offered for the discovery of the iconoclast. All was in vain. The people were imbued with the impious opinions of Ridley and Latimer; and if the proverb be, indeed, true, that some actions are so flagrant they would vex a Saint, then we may believe that Becket was vexed with Ridley and Latimer, and pleased with Gardiner; that he would listen to the prayers of Bonner, and leave Ridley and Latimer, without his intercession, to the mercy, for which the Saint would not pray.† To

* Mercers' Chapel, on the site of which Becket was born.—Fuller's Worthies, p. 203.

† See Strype Eccl. Mem., 1554., Feb. 14, chap. 26. I do not approve of Strype's language, though I refer to him. "On the same day," he says, "in which Robert Farrar, Bishop of St. Davids, was burnt in his own Diocese, the Image of the old abrogated Saint, Thomas Becket, martyr for the Pope, but traytor

intercede also for such men as Ridley and Latimer would be contrary to good taste. So Froude thought. *Why do you praise Ridley?* he enquires of his friend.* And my friend, Dr. Wiseman, who is called the Bishop of Melipotamus, assures us, in his Lectures on the Offices and Ceremonies of the Holy Week, that all true Saints, (and we acknowledge Becket to be such) ever were, and, therefore, are, men of real taste.† Not only so—Prayers for the Dead, and the belief in the intercession of the Saints, are defended as a part of the Catholic doctrine of the Communion of Saints. But with Ridley and Latimer, Hildebrand and Innocent, Bonner and Gardiner, there could be no Communion of Saints. I dare not say more. The veil of death parts me both from the damned, and from the undamned; and I will not debase my intellect by speculating on the condition in the unseen world of the persecutor, and of the victim, who returned to the God inflicting, or suffering, the cruelty of the flame, and the stake. May the controversies of earth perish with the bodies of earth;—but Ridley and Latimer

to the King, was set up in stone over the gate of St. Thomas, &c., &c.” It moves my indignation, as I have said in my Tracts, “*to hear the Saints of the Most High thus spoken of.*” Directly that Cardinal Pole succeeded Cranmer, he replaced the name of Becket in its antient places. See the passage in Strype, chap. 37.

* Froude’s Remains, vol. i., p. 394.

† See Wiseman’s Lectures on the Holy Week, 1 vol. 8vo., p. 79. Dolman, 1839.

prayed for themselves, as Christ prays, as St. Stephen prayed, when he was dying, to the King of Kings, and Lord of Lords—and I cannot but believe, whatever may be the utility of prayers for the dead, and of the intercession of the Saints, that the souls of Ridley and of Latimer, were quite as safe with God; as the soul of Gardiner after the prayers of Bonner, or the intercession of Hildebrand and Becket. I speak with great deference. Rome may rejoice, as it does rejoice, that I, and my friends, are endeavouring once more to reconcile the people of England to the opinions of Bonner and Gardiner that prayers for the dead, and the intercession of Saints, may be useful: and we will still endeavour to commend this system to our countrymen. But I find it difficult to persuade myself, and, therefore, to persuade others, that the prayers of Ridley and Latimer, who prayed from the withering flame to the Son of God for mercy; did not obtain from the Lamb of God, all and perhaps more abundant blessings, than the soul of Gardiner obtained from the prayers of Bonner, or the intercession of Hildebrand. And if it be so, then the conclusion follows, that the examples of Ridley and Latimer are preferable to those of Bonner and his Tractarian followers; and that it may be better so to believe and live, that we be able to commend our parting spirits in peace to the God who made us, and to the Saviour who redeems us; and to seek no other hope, and no other Redeemer, than to depend for any part of God's mercy

on the prayers of our brother, or the intercession of any Saint whatever. I feel that I cannot get rid of my old Protestant Church of England feelings in this matter. I must retrograde still further, and approximate still nearer to Rome, in my heart, as well as in my arguments, before I leave my soul to the prayers of my friends on earth, or to the Saints in Heaven; instead of committing it wholly, solely, and exclusively, in humble hope and prayer, to Him who died, that I might live, "where there is the fullness of joy and pleasures for evermore."

"But Bonner prayed," says the historian, "for the soul of Gardiner." I read, and having read, I pondered on the subject. I laid aside my pen. It was time to retire to rest. The matter on which I had written, still remained on my mind; and in my sleep, "in deep sleep," when deep sleep came upon me, the impression of the thought continued, and a vision passed before me. I was in the spirit, methought, with him of Patmos; when in the sublimities of the apocalypse, the heavens opened upon him. I saw the throne of God and Jesus standing at the right hand of God, as the Lamb that was slain; as the one Sacrifice, the Intercessor which pleaded there for the pardon of the sins of man. He had trodden the winepress of the wrath of God alone; and of his own people, the best and dearest to *his* Father and *our* Father, to *his* God and *our* God, there were none on that throne with him. Still I gazed, till I saw the number which no man could number, from all kindred, and nations,

and tongues, cast their crowns before God; and I heard their solemn gratitude peal through the Courts of Glory—"Not unto us, oh, Lord! not unto us, but to thy name, be the praise of our salvation, from the sins and from the sorrows of earth." They were before the throne of Christ. They bent at their appointed distance before that throne; but they were not Mediators with Him.—"But a change came o'er the spirit of my dream." Another Heaven, than the Heaven of the apocalypse—the Heaven of the Church of Rome was before me. One Intercessor no longer stood between God and man. The mercy-seat of Christ was possessed by other Mediators and other Intercessors. Rome had commanded them to be there, and a long train of the canonized, the holy and the unholy, the spurious and the dubious, of Hermits and of Popes, of Confessors and of Martyrs, shared the throne with the Son of the Living God. They did not cast their golden crowns before Him. They wore their crowns of glory, as the Brother-Mediators; aye, and as the Mother-Mediator, and as the Sister-Mediators, with Christ the Lord. So had Rome commanded. Dominic and Francis, Hildebrand and Innocent, Becket and the Virgin, with nameless thousands more, were all Mediators together. The Virgin, the blessed Virgin, methought, blushed amidst the glory of Heaven, at the company in which Rome had placed her. She turned from the aspirations and praises of her votaries, when they called her "Queen of Heaven," and when they prayed to her, and not

to Christ—as the bruiser of the serpent’s head. She bent before the throne of her Redeemer and Prince. “My soul,” she said, “doth magnify the Lord alone, “my spirit hath rejoiced, and it shall rejoice, in God “my Saviour.—My soul abhors the prayers and the “praises which are given to me and not to Him. This “only lessens the felicities of Heaven, that the believ- “ers in the religion of my God and Saviour should “give to me the blessed Virgin the homage which “is due to the bruiser of the serpent’s head alone.” I saw in my vision that the blessed Virgin fled from the society in which Rome had placed her, towards the bright glory which shone above her. Dominic and Francis, Hildebrand and Innocent, Becket and Borromeo, Aquinas and Bonaventura, remained on the throne of the Mediator. Suddenly a voice was heard from England. The soul of Gardiner, redolent with the blood of Ridley and Latimer, appeared among the spirits of the newly dead. The voice was the voice of Bonner. The prayer was the prayer of Bonner. It implored Becket and Hildebrand, Innocent and Dominic, to intercede with God and Christ for the soul of Gardiner. Other voices ascended with the voice of Bonner. Mary and Philip, and Pole and Story, who boasted that he “threw the faggot in “the face of a Psalm-singer at the stake, and pricked “his mouth as he then and there commended his soul “to God”—were heard to pray with Bonner, to the Saints of Rome, to Dominic and Becket, to Hildebrand and Innocent, that the soul of Gardiner might

share their glories; and be with them partakers of that Heaven, "from which they had banished the "souls of the Protestants." Neither was this all. Still I seemed to listen: and other voices from England and Oxford were heard. The voices of prayer to the Saints whom Rome had placed on the throne of the Mediator had ceased to rise from the Church of England, and from its best child, Oxford: but still I listened—and though no voice arose from the Church, methought I heard a faint whisper from Oxford, in this my own day, that "*the satisfactions of the souls departed may be increased by the prayers of the living,*" and—I awoke—and it was not a dream.

The next object, which we hold in common with Bonner and ourselves, is the substitution of a better Liturgy than the present. Our friend Froude considered our present Communion Service as a judgment on the Church;* and he, with others of our friends, would "*gladly consent to see our Communion Service replaced by a good translation of the Liturgy of St. Peter; a name which he advises his correspondent to substitute for the obnoxious phrase of Mass-book:*"† and our brother Newman calls the Canon of the Mass, that "*sacred and most precious monument of the Apostles, which our Reformers* (whom Froude calls "snobs," and "such a set,"‡)

* Froude's Remains, p. 410.

† Froude's Remains, p. 387.

‡ Froude, p. 393, &c., and p. 484.

“received whole and entire from their predecessors ;
 “but the Reformers mutilated the traditions of fif-
 “teen hundred years.”* Froude says also, as I have
 before quoted, that “the Prayer-book has no greater
 “claim to our deference than the Missal, and the
 “Breviary, in a far greater degree”:† and I shall
 not repeat again my own preference of the glory of
 the first or unreformed temple, to the diminished
 glory of the second or reformed present service.
 Now in all this our opinions are identical with those
 of Bonner, and the Government of his day—and I
 should indeed, therefore, be a hypocrite if I did not
 boldly say so. I will select a few of the expressions
 in which the illustrious Bonner, in common with the
 Puritans, the Papists, and the Tractarians condemn-
 ed the existing services of the reformed Church of
 England—“Because, (he says in his articles against
 one of the Ultra-Protestants whom he burned,) “the
 “service of the Church, in the days of King Ed-
 “ward, was alleged to be abominable, heretical, schis-
 “matical, and altogether naught :” he, therefore, the
 said delinquent, openly affirms, “that the present
 “service (restored under Queen Mary) is also abo-
 “minable, heretical,” &c.‡ In the proclamation of
 the 13th of June, 1555, by the King and Queen, re-
 straining the publication of all books and writings,
 tending against the doctrine of the Pope, after the

* Newman's Reply to Faussett, pp. 46, 47.

† Froude's Remains, vol. 1, p. 402.

‡ Foxe, vol. vii., p. 121.

enumeration of the works of Martin Luther, Calvin, Bucer, Latimer, Hooper, Coverdale, Tyndale, Cranmer, Frith, and many others,—it is commanded that none presume to write, print, sell, keep, or cause to be written, &c., &c., the Communion Book, or Book of Common Prayer, and Administration of the Sacraments, set forth by the authority of Parliament, to be used in the Churches of this realm in the reign of Edward the Sixth.* “I object to you,” (said Bonner to others, who were burnt) “that you have endeavoured, to the utmost of your power, to restore the English Service and Communion in all points, as it was used in the latter days of Edward the Sixth.”† That is, he objected, as I and my friends object, to the second Service-book of King Edward. “I call upon you,” (said Bonner to Philpott) “to answer to the Catechism set forth in the schismatical time of King Edward.”‡ The Reformers, indeed, did as much for the second Service-book of King Edward, our present Prayer-book, (with some few subsequent alterations,) as for any other object. “God be thanked,” said Rowland Taylor, (in his reply to Bourn, who questioned him on the subject of the Prayer-book, in the presence of Bonner and

* Foxe, vol. vii., pp. 127-28. See the same proclamations also in Strype (p. 250) and Burnet; both of whom, throughout the whole of their histories, acknowledge themselves, I grieve to say it, principally indebted to the stores of John Foxe.

† Foxe, vol. vii., p. 324.

‡ Foxe, vol. vii., p. 648.

Gardiner,) “for the whole Church Service, set forth
 “by the most learned men of the nation, under the
 “authority of Parliament, in the reign of Edward.”
 That “Book was never reformed but once; and by
 “that one reformation it was so fully perfected, that
 “no Christian conscience could be offended with the
 “same.”* Bonner, on the contrary, published a
 book of Homilies for his diocese, and declares in the
 preface, that in the time of the late outrageous and
 pestiferous schism, in this Church and realm of Eng-
 land, all godliness and goodness was abolished, and
 the Catholic doctrine of the Church was named Pa-
 pistry.† With which of these do my friends most
 fully agree? Which of them shall I advocate, but
 Bonner the burner, and not Taylor the burnt? When
 charges were to be adduced against Gibson,—“I
 “ask,” (said Bonner) “whether the said Gibson
 “ever affirmed that the English Service-books of
 “Edward the Sixth were good, and godly, and to
 “be observed and kept.”‡ “I charge the same
 “Gibson,” he said, “with affirming that the Book
 “of Common Prayer, set forth in the reign of Ed-
 “ward, was good and godly.”§ “Thou hast allowed
 “the religion and service of the latter years of Ed-
 “ward the Sixth,” he said to another, whom he
 burnt.|| “Ye have been very desirous,” was one

* Foxe, vol. vii., pp. 685, 686.

† Strype, Eccles. Mem., p. 265.

‡ Foxe, vol. viii., p. 439.

§ Foxe, vol. viii., p. 437.

|| John Rough. Foxe, vol. viii., p. 445.

accusation against the seven who were burned in one fire, "that the Communion and Prayer-books of King Edward be again restored."* "We acknowledge," (said six other Ultra-Protestants who were also burnt) "that we should be content to receive the Sacrament as it was ordered in King Edward's days."† "Thou hast taught," (was the charge by Bonner, against six others who were brought before him,‡) "that the English Service-book in the time of King Edward, was and is Catholic, and alone to be received in this realm":§ and I could prove, from many other indictments, that the approbation of the reformed Prayer-book, the second Prayer-book of King Edward, against which my beloved friends, in our Tracts, are so eloquent, was one great crime of the delinquents, whom the Government and Bonner pursued with so much severity, after the reconciliation of England with Rome. We, the Tractarians, do not love this book. Bonner and his brethren did not love it. We both dislike the book for the same reasons. I do not, therefore, hesitate, as I would defend my own conclusions, to defend in them the conclusions of Mary, Bonner, Gardiner, and the Anti-Protestants of their day. Our opinions and conclusions, in many most important points, wherein we both differ from the Ultra-Protestants, are identical with

* Foxe, vol. viii., p. 470.

† Foxe, vol. viii., p. 480.

‡ On the 6th of March, 1557.

§ Foxe, vol. viii., p. 312.

those of the Anti-Protestant Bonner and Gardiner : and I will not, therefore, be ashamed to vindicate the pious opinions which are common to us both; and to declare my own wish, and that of my friends, that the more express doctrine of an actual sacrifice was restored, that prayers for the dead were permitted, and that the whole of our present Prayer-book was remodelled on the plans of the Liturgy of St. Peter. These were the wishes of Bonner. These are the wishes of myself, and my friends.

2. Let us now consider *the manner in which Bonner endeavoured to effect these great objects both of himself, Gardiner, the Queen, and the Government.*

It is said that he was rather more severe, than a Christian Prelate ought to have been, in prosecuting his favourite wish of subduing the opposition of the Ultra-Protestants, to the reconciliation with Rome. I cannot say that I approve of any severity that can be avoided : neither is it to be denied that our ancestors were, in many respects, exceedingly severe. Neither will I deny that I regret to have read many expressions of Bonner to some of the prisoners—but I am still fully prepared to vindicate him generally from the charge of cruelty, and of needless severity.

Those who have not read the numerous proclamations, by which the King, Queen, Council, and Government demonstrated their anxiety to destroy the work of Edward, and to re-establish the unreformed religion, and the Liturgy of St. Peter, as they are related by Strype, Burnet, and Foxe, cannot under-

stand the manner in which the mildest Bishop of London must have been stimulated to exercise great severity against the Ultra-Protestants. Dr. Lingard has noticed them very sparingly. In allusion to one proclamation only, * in which Bonner was reprimanded by the King and Queen, Dr. Lingard observes, with much justice, that he “is inclined to doubt, from this “reprimand, whether Bonner really deserves all the “odium which has been heaped upon him. It certainly fell to his lot, as Bishop of London, to condemn a great number of the gospellers : but I can “find no proof that he was a persecutor from choice, “or went in search of victims. They were sent to “him, and as the law stood (but oh ! Dr. Lingard, “what a law !) he could not refuse to proceed, and “deliver them over to the civil power.”† An Ultra-Protestant would have said that he ought to have resigned his Bishopric rather than have burned the prisoners, but of this I am no judge ; for I have learned to submit to every ordinance of man, especially when they tell us to “hear the Church” : and I have yet to learn that we are to withhold that submission when the Church commands us to punish those whom its laws define to be delinquents. I would not burn an Ultra-Protestant by choice : but if the law of the land commanded me to act the part of Bonner, then, as my friend Keble expresses himself, my *po-*

* That of May 24th, 1555.

† Lingard's History of England, Mary, p. 267, note 11. Second Edition, 1823.

*sition would become a very delicate one indeed.**

The Queen's proclamations and letters, and the constitutions of Cardinal Pole, who declared, as the Papal Legate, that all who hold or teach opinions which Rome condemns are heretics—that all censures and punishments against heretics appointed by law be exacted—and that all ordinaries, such as Bishops, and Bonner among the number, who shall be negligent in extirpating heresies, should be also punished as the law required, excited the zeal and stimulated the energies of Bonner. Pole, as Turner has proved, the meek, quiet, calm, courteous, gentlemanly, unobtrusive Cardinal Pole, was most probably the moving, but hidden, cause of the severe enforcement of the laws against heresy. For three years after Gardiner's death, when it was therefore impossible to attribute the severities to the influence of Gardiner—in the absence of the King—after he was made Archbishop of Canterbury, the secret, silent, cautious Cardinal was the adviser of the Queen and Council. Bonner had no influence as a Counsellor. He was regarded only as the living faggot, that burnt the prisoner when the torch of authority kindled its unconscious sticks. Pole whispered the dictates of Rome and Spain. The Queen listened. Bonner was only the conscientious and obedient executioner. Let us consider some of these proclamations and letters which followed the reconciliation with Rome.†

* Keble's Letter to Mr Justice Coleridge.

† At the end of the year 1554.

The proceedings against the Ultra-Protestants, after the reconciliation with Rome, began on the 28th of January.* On that day, at St. Mary Overy's Church, Gardiner, Bonner, the Bishops generally, many Peers, Knights, and others being present, some of the chief prisoners were brought before them, and warned of the consequences of their continuing their withholding their assent to the general submission to Rome. The result of the meeting was the burning of Rogers in Smithfield, Hooper at Gloucester, Sanders at Coventry, Taylor at Hadley. They were all first excommunicated, and then surrendered to the civil power, with the evidently sincere, candid, pious, Christian-like, Italian prayer, that they be not injured in life or limb. They were burnt amidst the formally expressed pity of the reconciled Church, and the taunts and curses of the reconciled Churchmen ; but we, who are Tractarians, deem it to be most illiberal to impute to the Church of Rome, the conduct of its members. We must judge of the Church by its words, not by its actions ; as we must judge of a tree by its leaves, not by its fruits : or of a fountain by the clearness, not by the taste of its waters. To do otherwise is scriptural only, and Ultra-Protestant. Six others were burnt before the 10th of February, and then the burnings ceased for five weeks. On that day, a Spanish friar preached at Court against the discipline of burning heretics, established by the

* 1555.

Canon law, and incorporated into the English statute law ; from the latter, though not from the former, of which two codes, it has been since expunged. This sermon was, no doubt, a proof that many Papists agreed with the sentiments expressed by the Church, when it consigned the heretic to the secular power ; and commanded that power to execute the laws of burning them, while it humbly and justly requested it not to hurt them. The amiable consistency of the Spanish priest, however, was soon over-ruled : for the proclamations now began, which instigated our Bonner to proceed.

Dr. Lingard is of opinion, that the burnings were revived, in consequence of the provocation given by the excesses of the Ultra-Protestants. To this there are two answers : one, that each act of sedition ought to have been punished, and that the follies of one man cannot justify the burning of another ; and the next is, that the burnings were revived on the 16th of March, before any offence was committed, which could implicate the Ultra-Protestants generally. Tomkins, a weaver, was burnt on the 18th of March, having been condemned on the 9th of February.* A conspiracy was detected on the 18th. This conspiracy could not, therefore, account, as Dr. Lingard imagines, for the burning the poor weaver, on the 16th, as the learned historian seems to imagine. Neither am I able to perceive the justice of his rea-

* Strype, Eccles. Mem., p. 209, compared with p. 210—the references given by Dr. Lingard.

soning, which ascribes the commencement of the proclamations to the detection of the conspiracy. The proclamations made no allusion to the dangers of the Crown, though they speak in general terms, of preserving the peace of the country. I must, therefore, in justice to the Ultra-Protestants, acquit them of causing the proclamations, by rebellious conduct, as Dr. Lingard insinuates, but does not assert.* I must impute their publication to the anxiety of the Queen to uphold the unreformed religion, and to suppress heresy; and I am supported in this conclusion, by the authority of both Strype and Burnet.†

The first proclamation by the Council against the Ultra-Protestants, after the reconciliation with Rome, is given by Burnet.‡ In this proclamation it is ordered—1. “That the whole body of the magistrates “meet and divide themselves into parties of eight, “ten, or twelve—that they thus divide the county “among them—attend the preachers who are com- “missioned to preach—travel with them, and en-

* “It is not improbable,” is his language.—History of England, (Mary) p. 265. Second Edition, 1823.

† See Strype, p. 213, and his allusion to the same Records in Burnet, which Dr. Lingard refers to. I am surprised to find that both Dr. Lingard and myself refer to the same pages, in the same authors, to support opposite views.

‡ Ap. Records, No. 19, p. 283, part ii., book ii. It is addressed to the Justices of Norfolk. It is called an order prescribed by their Majesties, to the Justices of Peace of the County of Norfolk, for the good government of their Majesties’ loving subjects within the same shire. March 26, 1555.

“courage them, and commit to prison those who refuse to hear them—and especially enquire and take charge of the preachers and teachers of heresy.” The great object of this proclamation was to prevent religious meetings held by itinerant preachers.

This proclamation of the Council was supported by letters from the King and Queen, appealing to the Justices, by their loyalty, to exert themselves to the utmost to put down all clandestine meetings, and to preserve the peace of the country. These letters are given by Strype; who attributes to them the more active persecutions of the “*bloody years*” which followed.*

I omit the letters from the Council, ordering the executions of the prisoners, as these were sent to the Mayor of London, to the Sheriffs, or Magistrates, in the ordinary course of law.†

The same injunctions which had been sent to the Justices of Norfolk, were issued to all Magistrates throughout England. All persons suspected of heresy were to be apprehended and sent to their ordinaries, to be brought to the “unity of the Church,” or to be sent to execution. They were issued on the 16th of May. The Justices were commanded to execute all the laws to the utmost, against all who were not conformable to the “Catholic religion of Christ’s Church”—and “to have an especial regard “to such disordered persons, as forgetting their duty

* Strype, Eccles. Mem., p. 214.

† Strype, on Flower’s execution, p. 215.

“to the King and Queen, did lean to any heretical “or erroneous opinions”: and other letters were immediately after dispatched to the Bishops, admonishing them, on no account to spare the criminals who were thus sent before them by the secular Magistrates. The King and Queen, they said, had understood, to their great astonishment, that divers of these “*disordered persons*” or Ultra-Protestants, (Mary and Philip, like ourselves, always mention them with contempt,) when brought before the Bishops, had not been dealt with according to law—but had been suffered to continue in their errors. The King and Queen, therefore, commanded them to have greater regard to the office of good Bishops, and either to remove such criminals from their errors, or proceed against them according to the order of the laws.*

If it be supposed that Bonner was at this time more active than the other Bishops, who were thus reproved for their unwillingness to proceed against the Ultra-Protestants, the Queen’s letter, written more expressly to the Bishop of London, will prove that he was as reluctant to shed blood as his brethren. On the 24th of May, the King and Queen addressed a letter to Bonner alone, commanding and urging him “to proceed more diligently against the heretics—never to refuse to judge them when they are brought before him—not to treat them when judged with too much indulgence—but so to execute the

* Strype, Eccles. Mem., p. 217.

“office of a good pastor and Bishop, that God’s
 “glory be better advanced, and the commonwealth
 “be more quietly governed.”

Burnet, Sharon Turner, and others, have discussed the question, who were the principal instigators of the burnings. These letters prove that they were commanded by the Queen, under the Spanish and Italian influences which now governed her, rather than by the English Bishops, who were only the executors of the Royal will, and of the Papal authority. Mary was the Queen—Philip the Spaniard the Sovereign—Gardiner was the Chancellor—Pole the Papal Legate. The Italians, Priuli and Ormaneto, were, with Pole, the advisers of his plans and the spies of the Pope. What necessity can there be for the theory which represents Bonner as the instigator of the burnings?

The examples already made had not produced their intended effects. The King and Queen issued therefore, in the months of May and June, still severer proclamations. Letters were sent from Hampton Court, commanding that all who were under condemnation for heresy, should be immediately brought out for execution. Fresh charges were directed to the Bishops, to be more vigilant in searching for the Ultra-Protestants, or gospellers, or heretics, who loved the Prayer-book, and for bringing them up for recantation or execution. They wrote also again to Bonner complaining to him, that four

* Burnet, Records, part ii., book ii., p. 285.

Parishes in his Diocese still used King Edward's Prayer-book, and requiring him to examine into the matter, and to punish the offenders. He obeyed the order. Three Ultra-Protestants were consequently burnt in three different places. So difficult was it to restore in England the glories of the first Temple, now that the people in the reign of Edward had built up the second.*

At the end of this year—Cardinal Pole, as Legate of the Pope, was permitted by the Royal letters to summon a synod of the Clergy. No voice was there raised by the Clergy of the Church of England, now that the Church had returned to that unity which consisted in submission to Rome, against the severities which thus cemented the reconciliation. Where Rome rules, all is silence, all is peace. The Church, the Church, speaks—and woe, woe, woe, to the enquirer who questions, to the reasoner who doubts—to the Ultra-Protestant who opposes, its divine authority.

So ended the year 1555. The next year opened with proclamations of still increasing severity. The silence of the Convocation encouraged the King and Queen. Cardinal Pole was constantly at court,† and I hope that the English gentleman and ecclesiastic was not the adviser of the edict of the 14th of January, 1556. It was then ordered that, to produce a greater

* Strype, Eccles. Mem. Ann., 1555.

† We learn this from Gargrave's Letter. Gargrave was one of the Council. See the original in Strype, Ecc. Mem., p. 284.

effect upon the people, the burnings of the Ultra-Protestants should be attended by a good number of officers; and these officers were commanded to apprehend and commit to prison every spectator of their execution who spoke to them one word of comfort, or praise, or admiration. Sympathy was a crime. Pity was a sin. The result of the proclamation, and of the burnings, generally proved the superiority of the "*poisoning system*" which my friend Froude recommends. "Pity melts the mind to love," says our great poet, and the minds of the Anti-Protestant spectators of their countrymen who were burned alive, with unsparing zeal, on the cold mornings of a winter month, when the fires were kindled with such slowness that the wretched sufferers still more keenly perceived that they were dying, were moved to pity the persons, enquire into the doctrines, and love the cause of the misguided Ultra-Protestants, whom they assembled to gaze upon and deride. Yet Bonner was not the author of the burnings.

Still the severities increased. After this proclamation new commissions were issued, commanding the magistrates in every diocese to make the most diligent search for the Ultra-Protestants who had not been hitherto discovered. The Protestants, the mere Protestants, who objected to certain portions of the creed and discipline of Rome, as to theoretical or metaphysical points, in which the hearts, souls, and consciences of men were not deeply interested—and which had little or no relation to the state of the soul

in the immortality which follows this short life—had all disappeared. They had conformed, or they were silenced. The Ultra-Protestants alone—those who believed that resistance to Rome, for the sake both of present truth and future blessing, was a holy and bounden duty—these alone breasted the storm, or perished in its waves. The commission of April the 26th began by calling the Ultra-Protestants "*devilish persons* ;" and it ended with the declaration that "the King and Queen, by publishing this proclamation, did not intend to infringe upon the *ecclesiastical liberties of the Church*, by thus committing the "punishment of heresy to lay persons ; but that they "*merely desired to extend their royal aid to the spiritual powers*, which might not otherwise be able "to execute this justice."* Yet the Ultra-Protestants of the day, in spite of this amiable caution on the part of Mary, attribute the burnings of their heretical predecessors to Bonner and his brethren.

The severity still increased. A commission was issued on the 17th of November, two years before the death of Mary, commanding the Bishops to summon persons before them, to compel them to take an oath, to discover any heretics or Ultra-Protestants. Especial commissions also were directed to particular counties, and places, to the same effect. The Commissioners were empowered to seize the lands, tenements, and goods, of all who had absconded from their homes, under suspicion of heresy. Under these

* Strype, Eccles. Mem., p. 289.

commissions houses were searched, heads of families absconded, oaths were administered at the discretion of the Commissioners, and indictments for treason and heresy were multiplied, and it became impossible for the heretics to escape the diligence of the government. In addition to the Royal Commission, Cardinal Pole issued a Papal Commission by his authority as Legate.* An especial Commission was issued also for the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk, and very affecting is the supplication or petition sent up by the people of those counties to the Commissioners, though they are guilty of affirming, that “these Commissioners were sent down to subvert
 “and abolish God’s Holy Word and true religion;
 “and, instead thereof, to place and advance the
 “Romish blindness, and blasphemous superstition.” This is the very language which the Ultra-Protestants still use. The petitioners praised the Prayer-book of King Edward, and implored the Queen to permit them to serve God and Christ freely. The petition was without effect. The reconciliation with Rome could not be completed, if any relaxation were permitted of the ever increasing severity.†

The changing of the religion of a nation, whether we adopt the “*poisoning*” or the “*burning*” plan of conversion, can only be permanently effected by taking care that the education of youth be regulated

* Strype, Eccles. Mem. Mary, p, 341.

† See Strype, p. 343; and Foxe, who gives the petition at length.

on the principles which the Government or the Church may desire to establish. The next anxiety, therefore, of Philip and Mary, was to issue Commissions for the visitation of both the Universities. These were undertaken by Pole, the Papal Legate, and Royal Commissioner. The Anti-Protestant will rejoice, the Ultra-Protestant will blush to contemplate the submission of the Universities to the Commission—their reception of the Legate—their compliance with the new changes—their obedience to the Canon Papal law—their entertainments, speeches, and welcomings of the Royal Papal Commissioners. I pass them all by. Some of my Oxford brethren would not agree with me, if I condemned the Universities in these matters. I pass them by, as Bonner was not especially concerned in them.

The severity still increased. In the year 1577, some of the Sheriffs of Counties, mortified and angry at the duty which the law, the Council, and the frequent commissions imposed upon them, had suspended the executions of some of the Ultra-Protestants who had been condemned. On the 20th of July, letters were therefore directed to the Sheriffs of Kent, Essex, Suffolk, and Stafford, to the Mayor of Rochester, and to the Bailiffs of Colchester, to charge them to proceed to the fulfilment of their duty: and incessant letters and orders of Council were issued to compel the unwilling Sheriffs and Magistrates to proceed more zealously and actively.*

* Strype, p. 402.

They were heavily fined for disobedience : and warmly commended for loyalty and religion where they had been more energetic.

The last year of the reign of Mary arrived, and the severities still increased, and with them the hatred and indignation of the great mass of the people to the holy Church of Rome. The King and Queen had hitherto been the chief apparent movers of the burnings : while Cardinal Pole was considered to be the secret agent and adviser of the Court. This year, however, he acted on the principle that the ecclesiastical is superior to the civil power, by issuing a commission or instrument, called a *significavit*, addressed to the King and Queen, against certain Ultra-Protestants, praying their execution. A warrant was accordingly sent down to Canterbury, and five persons were burnt at that place, seven days before the Queen's death.* At the commencement of the year, Bonner had been compelled to issue a commission to try the Ultra-Protestants of Essex : when the delinquents were examined one day, and condemned the next. The effect of these trials appears to have been the increasing, rather than diminishing the numbers of the heretics. "You do not care "for burnings : they do not terrify you," said an Anti-Protestant to an Ultra-Protestant, "we must "find some other means to suppress you."† This conviction caused at one moment the suspension of

* Strype, p. 454.

† Strype, p. 455.

the executions. Chadsey, one of the most zealous and active of the Anti-Protestants, was recalled in the midst of the most pious demonstrations of piety and loyalty. This suspension of the burnings, however, soon ceased. On the 6th of June, 1558, a proclamation was published by the King and Queen, declaring the mere fact of possessing prohibited books to be rebellion, and martial-law was denounced against all who offended in this manner. "Whoever," it was proclaimed, "should possess the said wicked or seditious books, or finding them doth not burn them, without shewing them to others, or reading them, shall be reputed and taken for a rebel, and shall, without delay, be executed for that offence, according to the order of martial law."* That is, to use the words of Dean Noel, "sudden death by law martial, without examination, question, verdict, and judgment," was the punishment decreed by Papists, against the possessors, buyers, sellers, and readers of prohibited books, among which was the Prayer Book of King Edward, which my friend Froude, like these men, would have removed, for the Liturgy of St. Peter, or the Canon of the Mass. The proclamation, Strype tells us, was principally issued against this one book only; but it was made general, and it destroyed the very ruins of the supposed liberty of the people. I cannot entirely approve of the principle of the proclamation. I quite disapprove of the penalty by which it was enforced. This was the

* Dated 6th June, St. James's.

last of the more general proclamations. Five months after it was issued, the Queen died ; and though the executions were continued till her death, no fresh edicts, no new laws were passed, to add to the severities which cemented the alliance and submission of England to Rome. All these severities were enacted, as Parsons and Harpsfield have so eloquently urged, against the notorious John Foxe, by the public laws ; and the ecclesiastics of the country therefore, and Edmund Bonner among these, cannot be made responsible for the acts of the Sovereign, or for the penalties by which the laws were enforced.

But the obedience of Bonner to the public law may not be defended solely even from the manner in which the proclamations and letters of the King, Queen, and Council, excited him to the more effectual discharge of his duty. Incessant applications were made to him, from the more active and zealous Peers, Magistrates, and Officers, who were anxious to restore the Liturgy of St. Peter, and to destroy altogether the second Temple of King Edward. No supposition can be more absurd, than that Bonner was the originator of the persecutions. *If we can but establish our principles, we shall never want Bonners to execute the laws*, Gardiners to persuade the Sovereign to enforce them, nor country Magistrates to display their zeal, religion, and loyalty, by seconding every effort to punish the opponents of the Court. The former Chancellor, Lord Rich, Sir Anthony Brown, the two Tyrrells, (Henry and

Edmund), Mildmay, Appleton, Weston, and others, hated to the death, and persecuted to the stake, the loathesome Ultra-Protestants.* The Earl of Oxford and Sir Philip Paris sent up, for instance, six Ultra-Protestants to Bonner, for disobeying the orders of the Church, and for holding divers opinions, contrary to the Catholic faith.† Bonner did not seek for them : and when they were brought before him, he endeavoured, according to his general custom, to persuade them to recant, and to revoke their opinions.‡ Sir Edward Gage apprehended two men as they were at prayer, in the house of another Ultra-Protestant, who was but too often guilty of the same crime, and sent them to the Council, to be transferred by them to the custody of Bonner. These also, he endeavoured to persuade to recant.§ Edmund Tyrrell, an active Magistrate in Essex, delighted to assist the Sheriffs at the burnings of the delinquents, and apprehended John Newman, my friend's ancestor, of whom I have already spoken, on his return from one of the executions, merely upon suspicion, and sent him, with his companion John Denley, to the Commissioners. He prayed, in his letter, that the Holy Trinity would ever have the Council in its holy keeping ; and declared his intention of going, on the next day, to search for more heretics.|| Sir

* Strype, Ecc. Mem., p. 265.

† Foxe, vol. vii., p. 149. 1st May, 1555.

‡ Foxe, vol. vii., p. 142.

§ Foxe, vol. vii., p. 321.

|| 12th of June, 1555. Foxe, vol. vii., p. 329.

Richard Southwell, on the very same day, wrote up to Bonner, from another part of the country, to entreat him to take care that an "arrogant heretic," sent to Bonner by Lord Riche, should be proceeded against according to law.* Tyms, the Curate of Hackley, was apprehended by Tyrrell, and sent to Bonner. Tyms reminded Tyrrell that he (Tyrrell himself) had conformed to the laws of religion in the days of Edward. The remark exasperated only the Anti-Protestant. "I never conformed in my heart," was the answer: and Tyms was committed to the charge of Bonner, and, refusing to recant, was burnt. Was it the fault of Bonner, that the law required no other trial than the suspicions of a Magistrate, the questioning of the Bishop, and the refusal to recant, or to conform, as the Bishop might require?† "Wilt thou recant?" "Wilt thou conform?" "Wilt thou submit to the Catholic Church, as an obedient child?" demanded Bonner. "I am of the Catholic Church," was the answer; "but he was not of the Church of Rome, or of the Church of England, as it had submitted to Rome, and by that submission, was in unity with Rome;" and the obstinate and insolent Ultra-Protestant was burnt. "We have sent to your Lordship," wrote Sir John Mordant and Edmund Tyrrel, Magistrates for Essex, "three persons who be not conformable to the orders of the Church, and not doubting that the parishes

* Foxe, vol. vii., p. 371.

† Foxe, vol. viii., pp. 108, 109.

“of Burstead and Belleraiy shall be brought to good conformity, if they be punished.”* And I could refer to many other instances in which Bonner was neither the instigator, nor the encourager, of the informations; but rather endeavoured to save the poor wretches who were committed to him, than to condemn them with the haste and zeal which pleased the Government; and cemented the reconciliation with Rome.†

3. But what, it will be asked, is the meaning of the epithet so generally applied to Bonner, as the “*bloody Bonner*,” if he thus generally abstained from seeking out for condemnation the delinquents who refused to be convinced that there was an actual sacrifice in the Eucharist; that prayers for the dead are to be offered, and that the second Service-book of King Edward was unworthy of approbation, when compared with the Canon of the Mass? Have we been all misinformed? Is the testimony of tradition, which always, every where, and by all persons, has been believed, that Bonner was the cruel and unfeeling persecutor, to be now denied and overthrown? If the conduct of Bonner was capable of defence, how can we believe the most common facts of history, or give credit to any reports which are handed

* Foxe, viii., p. 142. 2nd March, 1556.

† See the accounts of the manner in which Sir John Brown and Sir Thomas Tye exerted themselves to procure the condemnation of the Ultra-Protestants.—Foxe, vol. vii., p. 753, and vol. viii., p. 383.

down to us upon the authority of contemporary and continuous evidence.

Bonner, I again reply, was only a specimen of that class of executioners of the public law which will ever be produced by that state of society, in which the mass of the people oppose the change in religion which the Churchmen and the Government may endeavour to enforce, in conjunction with the influence of the Church of Rome. Severe legal enactments form severe magistrates. The law, not Bonner, was to be condemned. Many harsh and severe expressions were undoubtedly uttered by Bonner, but common candour requires that we should not look to these alone. When he had in vain endeavoured to persuade the prisoners to recant : when he found his efforts to be useless, then he frequently lost his temper, and spake unadvisedly, from the impatience and impulse of the moment. In the novel of *Quentin Durward*, Sir Walter Scott has drawn the portraits of two executioners, who were respectively known by the names of *Jean-qui-pleure*, and *Jean-qui-rire*. One was accustomed to encourage his prisoners, when he hanged them, by jokes, jests, familiar expressions, and terms of affection and endearment. The other was used to console and comfort them, with texts of Scripture and sentences of religion and devotion ; and both these persons, says the novelist, were more utterly detested than any creatures of their kind before or since.* Sir Walter was wrong. Bonner has

* *Quentin Durward*, vol. i., chap. vi., p. 140. Edition, 1824.

concentrated more hatred and detestation on his name than either of these ; not because he resembled one more than the other, but because he united in himself the peculiarities of both. He did not, it is true, either utter jokes, or quote texts ; but he first invited to recant, and then pronounced sentence on the obstinate. He was deemed hypocritical in the former, and the union of the supposed hypocrisy and cruelty, which is nothing but the spirit of the old Papal law, in requesting gentleness from the Magistrate, whom it commands to burn the heretic, has been regarded as the crime of the individual, instead of being the unavoidable characteristic of the Magistrate. “*Let us but establish our principles, and Bonners will abound in every See, till all opposition be as effectually removed in England, as in Italy, Austria, or Spain.*”

To understand the character of Bonner rightly, therefore, we must regard him as acting in the spirit of the Church ; and consider the gentle expressions by which he would have persuaded the Ultra-Protestants to recant, before we censure him for the harsher language in which he expressed his condemnation of their inveterate Ultra-Protestant obstinacy. During the six days of Hooper’s imprisonment, Bonner and others of his own selecting, Packingham, Chadsey, and Harpsfield, constantly went down to the prison to persuade him to relent, and to become a member of the Reconciled Church. They quoted Scripture—they promised worldly advantages—they urged

every argument in their power—they threatened only the intolerable punishments decreed against the Ultra-Protestantism, hated by us, as well as by Bonner, when all other reasoning was of no avail.* “If ye will return,” said Bonner to Higbed, “I will gladly receive you.”† “Bonner,” says Foxe, “pronounced judgment upon Pigot, Knight, and Laurence, when he found that his fair flatterings, and his cruel threatenings were alike in vain.”‡ The Bishop used the threatening in mercy, when he found that his entreaties were useless. Three times, Bonner is related by Foxe to have persuaded Flower, the madman, who struck the priest at the altar, to submit to the “unity of the Catholic Church.”§ “It was his old manner—his wonted manner—he urged the reasons he was commonly wont to use to others,” says the hateful martyrologist.|| Bonner urged and solicited Ardeley to recant.¶ “Thou art a proper young man,” said Bonner to Hawkes, “I would be glad to do thee good.” “I am thy Pastor, and one that should answer for thee.”** “Wats,” said Bonner to another, “consider with yourself—cast not away your soul.”†† Bonner la-

* Foxe, vol. vi., p. 650.

† Foxe, vol. vi., p. 736.

‡ Foxe, vol. vi., p. 739.

§ Foxe, vol. vii., p. 74.

|| Foxe, vol. vii., pp. 74, 75.

¶ Foxe, vol. vii., p. 88.

** Foxe, vol. vii., p. 101.

†† Foxe, vol. vii., p. 122.

“boured to win him,” says Foxe, speaking of Abbs, another heretic,* and of Packingham†—of Tankerfield‡—of Allen§ and others—“I am sorry for your trouble,” he said to Philpot||—“the obstinate fool!” he only then exclaimed, when his persuasions and entreaties were useless. And I could refer to many other instances of his gentleness and kindness, which prove that he had no wish nor intention to execute the severity commanded by the law, if the obstinate Ultra-Protestants would have been persuaded by his bland courtesies. So evidently, indeed, did this appear to Sharon Turner to be the fact, that he imputes the kindness of Bonner to actual indifference, in the note, in which that historian endeavours to prove that Cardinal Pole was the real mover of the continued severities, which lasted till the death of Mary. He says, though with too much contempt of my favourite Bishop, that Bonner was the last man to have opposed the will of his superior : for he lived only for his pudding.¶

4. Let us now consider the *harshness* imputed to Bonner.

* Foxe, vol. vii., p. 328.

† Foxe, vol. vii., p. 335.

‡ Foxe, vol. vii., p. 343.

§ Foxe, vol. vii., p. 381.

|| The passage quoted by Lingard.

¶ Sharon Turner's Hist. of Eng., vol. viii., Mary, chap. xv., book ii., note 25. N.B. There is a misprint in this note of Sharon Turner. The reference to p. 149, is printed for 240.

The one circumstance then, after the reconciliation with Rome, which rendered the name of this venerable Bishop so peculiarly detested by the Ultra-Protestants, was, that he was sometimes more uncourteous in his expressions, than our Saviour's representative ought to have been.

The first act of Bonner after the reconciliation with Rome, which the Ultra-Protestants denounce as unjustifiably severe, is the rejection of the petition of the Proto-martyr Rogers, that he might speak to his wife, the mother of his eleven children, before he was burnt in Smithfield. The request that he might see her in prison had been previously rejected by Gardiner, who denied the validity of his marriage. "She is not thy wife," was the reply of the Chancellor.* On the 4th of February,† Bonner left his palace to go down to Newgate, to degrade Rogers from the priesthood, before he was burnt. Bonner was anxious that every thing should be done "decently, and in order." An Ultra-Protestant would say, that he was like the Priests who betrayed Christ to be crucified. They could deliver the Son of God to the scourge, and to the cross, but they could not enter into the judgment hall, lest they be defiled, and be prevented from eating the Passover. All such illiberal remarks, we reject with disdain. When his degrading had been completed—"I have but one petition to ask," said the translator of the Bible, "that I may talk a few

* Foxe vol. vi., p. 692.

† 1555.

words to my wife before my burning." It seemed a small request ; but Bonner did not consider the request as a favour which could be granted. The reason of the refusal, however, had been given by Gardiner. The Church of Rome, and the Churches which submitted to its authority, declared the contracts, forms, and ceremonies, which constituted marriage between men and women among the laity, to be invalid when one party was a Priest. We only encourage celibacy, and declare it to be the "more excellent way" for the clergy. Rome has changed this our "pious opinion"* into a law : and that law of Rome, was now the law of England. If, therefore, the women who had lived with the Priests, as their wives, because of the contracts, forms, and ceremonies, which made them believe they were married, were no more wives by law, than if their supposed husbands had been married to other women, instead of being married by vow to the Church, : it is evident they must have been considered by the law in the rank only of concubines, or courtezans. Bonner could not oppose the law. Bonner could not appear to sanction the unlawful unions which he was required to condemn. Many Clergymen, who were not suspected of any heresy against the Sacrament of the Altar, were de-

* See the defence, or apology, or earnest desire, of the celibacy of the clergy, in the Letter of my dear friend Dr. Pusey to the Bishop of Oxford, on "the tendency to Romanism, imputed to the Tracts for the Times"—a meek performance, 8vo., Oxford, 1839.

prived, and put to penance for contracting such supposed marriages ;* and Bonner must have deemed himself guilty, (if he had permitted Rogers to speak with his wife,) of encouraging the concubinage of the Clergy, opposition to the law, and heretical resistance to the Church. He had taught, with Rome, and others, that celibacy is identified with chastity, and he would not, therefore, sanction the unchastity of the priestly marriage ; and give his formal permission that the Proto-martyr should speak to his wife. She met him indeed in Smithfield. One child at her breast—and ten following their mother. There she took her leave of him, till the invisible world received her. Her husband rejected the pardon which would have saved him. He was unmoved by the tears, or by the silence, or by the broken expressions of his children, and their mother. He had loved the Bible, and given it to the people. He loved the Prayer-book, and predicted its re-establishment. Why then should I condemn Bonner for discouraging the celibacy of the Priesthood ; and censure him for upholding, by his rejecting the petition of Rogers, my own and my friends' most " pious opinion."

It is said that the exclamation—"Have him away, have him away," spoken by Bonner to Ardeley and Simson, when the people waited to see them leave

* Ormund Hill, of Thornton—Oswald Butler, of Woodhall—and many others were put to penance, or deprived, or excommunicated by Cardinal Pole, solely for their marriage. The pious opinion became law.—See Pole's Articles of Visitation in Strype, p. 164.

the Consistory Court,* was spoken in anger or revenge : whereas, it was the expression only, as I have shewn, of contempt, excitement, or alarm, when the crowds in the court made so much tumult, that Bonner desired, by the rapid withdrawment of the prisoners, to prevent an outbreak. When Hawkes, the most obstinate of the Ultra-Protestants, whom the Earl of Oxford sent up to Bonner, refused to be convinced by the expostulations of Bonner; the attendants on the court cried out—"Faggots, burn him, hang him, to prison with him, irons on him, and so on."† Bonner endeavoured to persuade the Queen's men to leave the prisoner to his examination. He thus saved him his life for the time : and though the conversations‡ between Bonner and Hawkes seemed to imply only mutual exasperation ; the very resistance which Hawkes had made, interested the Bishop in his favour ; and Bonner would have saved him, if the obstinate Ultra-Protestant had afforded him the least opportunity of evading the severe laws which Bonner was required to execute. In all cases he insisted upon trying those only who belonged to his own episcopal jurisdiction. Those he endeavoured to save, and the rest he endeavoured to dismiss altogether.§

"Thou shalt be burnt at a stake in Smithfield, if

* Foxe, vol. vii., p. 89.

† Foxe, vol. vii., p. 109.

‡ Foxe, vol. vii., p. 113.

§ Foxe, vol. vii., p. 109.

“thou repent not,” said Bonner to Robert Smith, and the expression is supposed to imply cruelty and bloodthirstiness on the part of Bonner. The candid examination of the whole proceedings* will prove to the impartial reader that Bonner patiently endured the most provoking insults from this man; and only then condescended to more severe language, when persuasion and entreaty were exhausted, and the insults of the Ultra-Protestant criminal had become unendurable. “Away with him, away with him,” said Bonner,† and the exclamation was certainly unworthy of a Judge; but the criminal had insulted that Judge when he was discharging his duty: and we must not reason, as if the Judges in the reign of Mary understood their duty so well as the Judges in the reign of Victoria; and considered it to be their duty that they should be as unimpassioned amidst eulogy or insult, as the bench they sate upon.

When Philpot was brought before Bonner, he, it is true, professed his conviction, that he could not escape because of the cruelty of Bonner towards his prisoners.‡ “Your cruelty is such,” said Philpot to Bonner, “that I am afraid to come before you. I “would your Lordship would proceed against me “gently by the law.” The answer of Bonner ought to convince all who charge him with capricious and needless cruelty, of the absurdity and folly of the

* Foxe, vol. vii., pp. 347–355.

† Foxe, vol. vii., p. 356.

‡ Foxe, vol. vii., p. 645.

accusation. Bonner affirms that he was condemned by his superiors for not proceeding still more severely and more energetically against the Ultra-Protestants. "I am blamed," he said, "by my brothers, my Lords the Bishops, that I have not dispatched thee before this. I made suit to my Lord Cardinal, and to the whole Convocation, that they would hear thee. My Lord of Lincoln said of thee that thou wouldst have the last word. All assure me that thou delightest in public discussion, and that notoriety is thy meat and drink. Yet if thou wilt be conformable, I will forgive thee all that is past: thou shalt have no hurt for anything thou hast already spoken or done." Where does Bonner's cruelty appear in this? The truth is, that the common mistake was made, that the executor of the severities of the law was responsible, in the public opinion, for the cruelties of the law itself. An Ultra-Protestant, who refused to attend his parish Church after the schism had been healed by the reconciliation, was brought before Bonner. "Thou hast often been before me," said the Bishop, "I have travailed with thee, to win thee from thy errors.* Yet thou, and such as thou, dost report that I seek thy life." "Yea, my Lord," said the delinquent, "ye be a blood-sucker: I would I had as much blood as water is in the sea, for thee to suck." Bonner did not lose his temper. On the contrary, his very calmness is urged against him as a proof of his cold

* Foxe, vol. vii. p. 746.

and cruel disposition. When he charged the prisoner to return to the "unity of the Church," and was requested to prove the opinion held by the prisoner to be heresy, Bonner would not argue with the delinquent. He read the usual questions, and condemned the prisoner. The law was defective : but Bonner was not answerable for its defects.*

But we are told that Bonner betrayed great and unnecessary harshness in the matter of the degrading of Cranmer. My friend Froude has spoken of Cranmer as undeserving of any very great respect—all my Roman Catholic brethren agree with him ; and it is very certain that Cranmer vacillated and wavered to an extent which diminishes the respect of all but the Ultra-Protestants, for the firmness and character of the Archbishop. In this case, Cranmer was degraded from his Archbishopric, as Howley would now be, if the same influence could prevail in England. Bonner was required to degrade him, as the first ecclesiastic in his province. When the various orders of the Episcopate and Priesthood were taken from him, the Archbishop, according to the institutions of the Canon law, became only a simple layman. Bonner, after the ceremony of his degradation was completed, addressed the spectators of the ceremony, as if Cranmer was no longer to be considered an ecclesiastic. "This is the man," he said, "this is the man who hath despised the Pope, "pulled down churches, contemned the Sacrament

* Foxe, vol. vii., p. 746.

“of the Altar ; yet the Pope, by us his servants, sentences him to punishment—the Church is the place where he is judged—the altar is the spot, before which he is condemned.”

Bonner is supposed, in this speech, to be expressing his revenge against the Archbishop, for Cranmer's degradation of Bonner, in the reign of Edward. It may be so ; but to me, it appears that the Bishop of London was but expressing, antithetically, the contrast between the former dignity and the present depression of Cranmer ; and arguing from that contrast, the condemnation of Cranmer by the Almighty, as well as his condemnation by the existing Church of England after its submission to Rome. The Ultra-Protestants may infer from the words of Bonner, cruelty and harshness.* I draw no such inference. I no more infer, from such observations of Bonner, that he was needlessly harsh and severe, than I infer, from the address of Judge A., or Judge B., to a clearly convicted criminal on the enormity of the offence, and the necessity of public punishment, that the said Judge is a cruel or inflexible Magistrate. I again say, that the fault was in the law of the hour, and if our principles could be so carried out, that our “*pious opinions*,” respecting the authority and power of the Church could become the law of the land ; Bonners and Gardiners would soon abound to rejoice in the severity of the law, by openly executing it to the utmost with Bonner ; or

* Foxe, vol. viii., p. 72.

by privately encouraging the more intolerant enactments with Pole and Gardiner. When the religion of a nation is to be changed by other means than by open preaching, the measures which we call severity and caution, though the Ultra-Protestant calls them cruelty and treachery, must be unsparingly and unrelentingly continued, till the object of the Government and of the Church be effected, in the conversion or submission of the people.

The day after the Feast of the Nativity, 1557, Bonner wrote to Pole,* on the subject of twenty-two heretics, against whom Bonner had intended to pronounce sentence of death: but whom Pole respited. This has been alleged as an act of great cruelty, that Bonner objected to Pole's interference. The perusal of the Bishop's letter amply justifies him. The people gathered round the prisoners, supported them by their sympathy, and comforted them to the utmost. This reception encouraged their obstinacy, and threatened to do away the whole effect of the preceding punishments. Bonner, therefore, wrote to the Mayor, Sir John Gresham, to prohibit the resort of the people to the delinquents. So many had been burned, and the schism still remained so entirely unhealed, that it became evident the experi-

* The letter is dated *Postridie Nativitatis*. The good Bishop had adopted the antient custom, which I and my brethren have revived, of dating letters on the eves or festivals of the Saints. Most of our Tracts are dated in this manner. I have dated my Introduction to this Life of Bonner, "October 23rd, the Feast of St. Ignatius Loyola."

ment must entirely fail, if the Ultra-Protestants were to be encouraged in their disobedience by the popular sympathy. These prisoners had been very quiet and orderly, and there were great hopes, therefore, that some of them would have recanted and saved their lives ; till they arrived at Aldgate and Cheapside ; when their whole demeanor changed, in consequence of the sympathy of the populace.* Zeal for the accomplishment of the objects of all the previous burnings, and not cruelty alone, ought, therefore, in candour, to be attributed to the Bishop, as the motive for his resistance to the interference of Pole. Nothing is so illiberal as Ultra-Protestantism.

The severe expressions of Bonner to Allerton, “ Ah, Sirrah ! how is it thou hast come hither again, “thou whore-son varlet—thou prick-louse ! Away “with him, away with him !”†—have been objected to. But Allerton had been released before, and our Saviour’s representative had become angered by the insolence and obstinacy of the prisoner. “ The “Bishop doth nothing,” said Allerton, “ but seek “men’s blood.”‡ What Magistrate could endure to be thus called a murderer, merely because he enforced submission “ to the ordinances of man, for “the Lord’s sake.” As the fourth year in which the severities that followed the reconciliation with Rome began to close, Bonner perceived the neces-

* See Foxe, vol. viii., p. 307, for Bonner’s letter.

† Foxe, vol. viii., pp. 407–9.

‡ P. 412.—Foxe, ut supra.

sity of still greater activity in executing the law, or the certainty that all the former sacrifices would be of no avail. On the 28th of July, 1558, when seven were burned together in Smithfield, and when proclamation had been made that no man, under pain of instant death, should approach to them, touch them, speak to them, nor comfort them; the Ultra-Protestants, notwithstanding that fearful proclamation, and the present threatenings of the Sheriffs and their attendants, were so "Godly comforted" by the people, that the Anti-Protestants were astonished.* The Bishop of London must have perceived the danger that this popular sympathy might go on till it broke out into open rebellion. He, therefore, took that precaution, when the next Ultra-Protestants were sent to him, which was affirmed† to have procured him more hatred from the multitude than any other act of his magistracy. Seven more delinquents were brought before him. He sent them down to Fulham on the 12th, questioned them the next morning at mid-day, and condemned them to be burned that evening, on their own answers, in the usual manner. He thus effectually prevented any ebullition of popular tumult, and preserved the public peace, while he obeyed the law. Yet this considerate and anxious care to preclude the possibility of rebellion is called cruelty.

The last Ultra-Protestant who was burned in

* See Bentham's letter to Lever, in *Strype, Ecc. Mem., Mary*, chap. lxiii.

† See Bentham's letter.

Smithfield, a short time before the death of Mary,* is said to have been treated with cruelty by Bonner. So anxious, however, was the Bishop to save him, that the attendant friends of the prisoner thanked the Bishop for his exertions and expostulations:† neither did he change his gentle language to him, till he was exasperated by the Ultra-Protestant declaration, which we are daily endeavouring to render obsolete, that “the Mass was a horrible idolatry.” Then the patience of Bonner yielded to the provocation. Bonner called him a blasphemous heretic, read his sentence, and condemned him to be burnt. “May I speak but two words,” said the delinquent, unmoved by the sentence. “What hast thou to say—speak,” said Bonner; and the prisoner, strange to say, declared—“I am moved by the Spirit of God to tell you, that God will shorten your hand of cruelty; for, after this day, in this place, none shall be put by you to death, by the fire and the faggot.” And so, indeed, it came to pass. “None,” says the old Martyrologist,‡ “after this day suffered, under Bonner, in Smithfield—God be thanked!” John Foxe may be supposed to imagine that the coincidence of no additional sacrifices being offered up at Smithfield, proved the last victim to have thus spoken by the spirit of prophecy. Bonner could not be expected to have been impres-

* July, 1558.

† Foxe, vol. viii., p. 477.

‡ Foxe, vol. viii., p. 478.

sed with the supposition. The reply did but exasperate him. "Thou art as mad in thy heresies," he answered, "as Joan Boucher," whom Cranmer had consented to burn. "In anger and fume, thou "wouldest become a railing prophet: though thou "and all the sort of you would see me hanged, yet "shall I live to burn ye; and I will burn all the sort "of you that come in my hands, who will not worship "the blessed Sacrament of the Altar, for all thy prattling." And so, says the historian, he went his way;* and "as he spake, he would have acted." I do not admire the peculiar mode in which the laws of the country at that time were framed to suppress Ultra-Protestantism; but I do admire, with my friend Froude, the zeal and energy, with which the conscientious Bonner endeavoured to extinguish the essentially unchristian Protestantism which could give its body to be burned; while it refused submission to the learned Clergy, the Government, the Queen, the Convocation, and the Bishops. The people still sympathize with the victims, and detest the Judge. They remember the indignant language of the Bishop of London to the last Martyr at Smithfield; and to this day they loathe his memory.

This exasperation of Bonner at the ill success of the burnings, of which he was the instrument, increased till the death of the Queen. After the burning of the last Ultra-Protestant in Smithfield, we read of his using similar expressions to another, whom he

* Foxe, vol. viii., p. 479.

scourged and struck repeatedly with a cane, and birchen and willow rods. "If thou wilt not believe me," he said, "but wilt follow the leading of other heretics, thou shalt be brought to destruction, and burn both body and soul." "If thou wilt believe me, thou canst not err." "If thou shouldst err, thou art in no peril : thy blood would be required at our hands."* All this was said to John Mills. "They call me bloody Bonner !" he added, "a vengeance on you all." "I would fain be rid of you ; but you have a delight in burning." That is, the burnings were perceived to be ineffectual in repressing Ultra-Protestantism. "If I might have my will, I would sew your mouths and put you into sacks, and drown you." Men forgive injuries, more than they forgive insults ; and these expressions, more than the burnings themselves, have made the name of Bonner odious ; though they were only the uncouth and uncourteous mode of expressing his zeal for the "unity of the Church" and his hatred of heresy, rather than his personal hostility to the criminals whom he was required to punish.

But another part of Bonner's conduct has excited even more indignation against him than these words of reproach and contempt to his prisoners. He is accused of cruelty and harshness, in beating Thomas Hinshaw, with willow rods, in his garden, at Fulham ;† John Mills, with birchen rods and a cane ;‡

* Foxe, vol. viii., p. 485.

† Foxe, vol. viii., p. 484.

‡ Foxe, vol. viii., p. 487.

Wilmot, Fairfax, Green, and others. I shall but reply to this charge, almost in his own words, when he was reproached with this custom, after his deprivation in the reign of Elizabeth. "His prisoners," he said, "might believe they had made a happy exchange, who were punished only with whipping, "when they deserved burning": and I shall add, also, that Bonner was too skilful in the Canon law, to inflict any punishment upon a heretic, which that law did not sanction. A Bishop was empowered by the laws of the Church, handed down by antiquity and tradition, to exercise discipline, to prescribe penance, to moderate, relax, or remit it. One kind of discipline or penance, strange as it may appear to the Ultra-Protestants, who abuse Bonner for his observance of the laws of the early Church, consisted in the discretionary use of the whip and rod. This punishment was not inflicted upon delinquents of a higher degree; but upon the young, the ignoble, the inferior persons, who presumed to form opinions, and to defend their opinions, contrary to the decisions of the learned, and of the Clergy. Thus the rule of Isidore, of Seville—of Macarius—of St. Benedict—Aurelian also, and Gregory the Great sanction and command the use of stripes and corporal punishment.* St. Augustine assures us, that this kind of punishment by stripes was commonly used, not only by schoolmasters and parents, but by Bishops in their

* See the references in Bingham,—Book xvi., chap. iii., sect. 2.

consistories;* and the reason was not so much the distinction of crimes, as the distinction of age and quality in the persons. For these causes, therefore, Bishop Bonner flogged the Ultra-Protestants in his orchard. He acted in strict accordance with the canons of the universal Church, the authority of the Fathers, the sanction of tradition, the examples of antiquity. The Ultra-Protestants condemn Bonner for flogging his prisoners, because they are ignorant of the venerable authorities from the best days of the Primitive Church, the days of St. Augustine. They are not conscious that all the floggings he inflicted were strictly canonical. They will not believe that a Bishop was fully justified in flogging all the young heretics in his diocese, and burning all the old ones. But to censure Bonner for whipping the Ultra-Protestants, is to censure the great St. Augustine, the holy St. Benedict, the learned Isidore. It is to condemn at once, in one sweeping indiscriminate disapproval, the Fathers, Antiquity, Tradition, and the Canon Law. And I am sure that Bonner will need no other defence, than the fact that he is identified with all these in whipping the Heretics; and that to censure him, would be to censure them. This, I cannot—this, I will not do. I complete my vindication of this great man, therefore, by resting his defence on these immovable foundations; and I only

* Aug. et 159, ad Marcellin. Quis modus coercitationis, et a Magistris artium liberalium, et sæpe in judiciis solet ab episcopis adhiberi.—See Bingham.

wish that the Bishops of the Church could exercise the same authority at present ; and if they do not burn the Ultra-Protestants, that they possessed, at least, the old canonical authority of flogging, most soundly, the presumptuous, the impertinent, and the ignorant. So degenerate, however, have we become—so totally have we departed from the spirit of the antient Canons—so entirely have we neglected the discipline of the Catholic Church, in its best days, the days of St. Augustine, that a Bishop in the present day would be deemed most singular, who flogged even a mechanic, or a peasant, for Ultra-Protestantism. An action for assault would be brought against the Bishop himself, in a civil court of justice. The jury, though they might call themselves Christians, Churchmen, and Episcopalians, would, unhesitatingly, give a verdict of damages against the Bishop himself : and the Canons of the Antient Church, with all the long train of Traditions, Antiquity, Fathers, Saints, and Bishops, would be appealed to, and quoted, in vain.

5. Here, then, I end my defence and vindication of the character and conduct of the venerable Bishop Bonner, during the reign of Mary. He obeyed the laws of the land. He endeavoured to extend the same pious opinions which had once been established as the religion of England. By influence, by law, by obedience to the Catholic Church, by supporting the submission to Rome, which constituted the “unity of the Church,” and the reconciliation of the Ita-

lian and English Churches, by warning, persuading, expostulating, and threatening, before he flogged and burnt the Ultra-Protestants; Bonner proved himself to be the firm, uncompromising, advocate of the Anti-Protestant system. He had but one, one, one object in view; and that was the very object, which we, the Tractarian British Critics, have announced in "bold and offensive language," to be our design also. He wished only to "*unprotestantize*" the National Church. To effect this, he had no sympathy with sufferings, and no pity for the sufferers. We do not approve of his real or supposed cruelty; we approve only of his *principles* and *object*. We learn from the failure of his plans, the impossibility of effecting, in England, a change in the religion of the people, by terror, force, and severity; but that such change must be effected by an opposite system of treatment. We learn that we can only hope to "*unprotestantize*" the nation, by the "*poisoning system*" of Froude, in preference to the "*burning and flogging system*" of Bonner.

SECTION IV.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF ELIZABETH TO THE DEATH
OF BONNER, 1569.

Little now remains to be said of the venerable Bonner. Elizabeth peacefully ascended the throne on the death of her sister, on the 17th of November, 1558, a day which was long held sacred by the Ultra-Protestants. She was proclaimed, unanimously, among the general rejoicings of Peers, Commons, and people, who appear to have become weary of the forcing system, by which the pious Mary had endeavoured to change the religion of the nation. The "*poisoning system*," we hope, will succeed better. The joy of the people was so excessive, that no signs of sorrow for the death of that "blessed Saint"* was manifested by any but those who were best able to appreciate her excellencies, the Bishops and Clergy of the Church, who had submitted to Rome.† Elizabeth had complied with the laws of Mary in the matter of religion, to such extent that the hopes and fears of her subjects were equally excited. She had assisted and communicated at the

* See the prayers of Queen Mary, at the end of Strype's Memorials, vol. iii., Records, p. 288.

† Burnet, part ii., book iii., p. 374.

mass : and the Bishops, therefore, two days after her accession, met her at Highgate, to welcome and congratulate her. Elizabeth received them all with courtesy and kindness, excepting Bonner, whom she ought more especially to have favoured, as the most active ecclesiastical Magistrate, whose loyalty, when his Sovereign professed the religion he approved, was equal to his piety and virtue. From him she turned away with silent and reproachful contempt, and thus gave an earnest of the change of policy she was meditating. Bonner, with his brethren, returned to the City, and we may suppose to his house at St. Paul's, while the Queen proceeded to the Duke of Norfolk's, at the Charter House, and from thence the next day to the Tower.

Two months elapsed before the Queen was crowned,* and before the meeting of her first Parliament.† In this short space of time, Elizabeth threw off the mask which had been assumed with so much skill and dexterity, as to deceive her zealous sister, and prevent any judicial process against her as a heretic. Though she buried her sister with all the solemnities of the Catholic ritual, and commanded a solemn dirge and mass of requiem for the soul of the Emperor Charles the Fifth,‡ it is not improbable that the souls of both would have been as much benefited by the reformed, as by the ancient ritual ; for she shewed

* 15th January, 1559.

† 23rd January.

‡ Lingard—Elizabeth—vol. iv., p. 349.

no zeal for the faith, which valued the prayers of the living for the souls of the dead. She discharged the heretical prisoners on their own recognizances—received the Ultra-Protestant Divines on their return from Geneva, and other places of exile—forbade Oglethorpe (who refused obedience), to elevate the Host in the Chapel Royal in her presence—and actually imprisoned White, the Bishop of Winchester, for the sermon on the death of Mary, in which the zealous preacher, advocated the “Unity of the Church,” condemned heresy, exhorted all to persevere in the religion of Mary, prayed for the souls in purgatory, upheld the power of the Church as judging all men, but to be judged of none. He declared of Mary that the poorest creature in all the city feared not God, more than she did*—that she restored to the Church the ornaments which had been taken away in the time of the schism, and, having purged the realm which was poisoned with heresy, refused to declare herself the head of the Church, a title which no prince had for fifteen hundred years had ever usurped. It was probably this expression which irritated the young Queen, who was conscious to herself that she intended to restore the days of schism, to destroy the unity which had been established with so much difficulty, and cemented with so much blood. Neither was this all. She forbade

* See White's Sermon at the end of Strype's Memorials, vol. iii., Records, 284. The passage at the end of this page is really eloquent.

preaching unless under especial circumstances—she appointed a secret committee of divines to revise and correct the Liturgy of Edward—and took other measures which proved to Bonner and his brethren the resolution she had taken, on the meeting of her first parliament, to “undo all, as all had never been,” to overthrow the work of Mary, and possibly to reject once more the very supremacy of the Bishop of Rome itself, as her rash and ruthless father had done. They were confirmed in their suspicion by the proclamation in which she ordered the established worship to be only so long observed “till consultation “on religion might be had in Parliament, and the “three estates.”* This document demonstrated to the Bishops, that Elizabeth had determined to act upon that principle which is the secret of all heresy, and the beginning of all that pride of heart, which presumes to throw off the authority of the ecclesiastics, to whom alone is committed the power of pronouncing what doctrines are to be believed or rejected by the laity. If the proposition on which this proclamation was written, was to be once admitted without resistance—if the Church of England was allowed once more to become a parliamentary Church, instead of remaining a portion of the Papal Church, the Bishops at once perceived that the Bishop of Rome might possibly be no longer regarded as the sole head upon earth of the Church Catholic, and of the Church of England. The unavoidable and neces-

* Lingard—Burnet—Strype.

sary consequence followed. The Bishops assembled at London in full committee, or in private synod, and unanimously resolved to oppose every obstacle in their power, to the solemn ceremony which confirmed the authority thus dangerous to the united and reconciled Churches of Rome and England. They resolved to refuse to crown the Queen. They resolved, that is, to refuse to acknowledge as their Sovereign, a woman who would have objected to some part of the service as ungodly and superstitious ; and who, if she did not refuse to take, certainly meant, to violate, that part of the oath, which bound the Sovereign to maintain what my friend Dr. Lingard calls " the liberties of the Church," that is the liberty of its dependence on Rome, and of its independence of the King or Queen of England.* Their loyalty was less than their piety. They believed they were to honour God, more than Cæsar, as they were commanded to do. They honoured God, when they preferred the Pope to the Queen. They honoured Cæsar rightly, when they placed the Queen below their holy Father the Pope. They refused to crown Elizabeth, and Bonner was the chief of the recusants.

What was to be done? The secret deliberations of the Council of Elizabeth have not been handed down to us. Much confusion and embarrassment certainly resulted on account of the great importance which was attached to the ceremony of consecration. Bonner was the Bishop who, in conjunction

* Lingard, p. 350.

with the Archbishop of York, (for the See of Canterbury was vacant by the death of Pole,) would be chiefly assailed by the partizans of the Court and of the projected changes. They were both resolute, and both persisted in their refusal. Oglethorpe, Bishop of Carlisle, at length consented to place the Crown on the head of Elizabeth, on condition that she took the accustomed oath and complied with the Catholic pontifical. If he, or some other of his brethren, had not consented, I have no doubt that the Queen would have commanded the Chancellor, or one of the principal nobility, or one of the deprived Bishops, or Dr. Cox, or some other of the returned exiles, to place the crown upon her head. She certainly possessed the recklessness of her father, though she preferred to govern by balancing party against party, by exciting hopes of favor, and fears of censure, and thus ruling by influence, rather than by force or terror. Oglethorpe at length consented to crown her, and it is a curious fact, that the Lords commanded Bonner to send to the Bishop of Carlisle the robes that were used on this occasion by the Ecclesiastic who was appointed to crown the Sovereign. He was directed to send, and he obeyed the injunction, all the pontifical habits that Bishops were wont to use, in "such glorious inaugurations of most illustrious Kings."* Bonner sent

* Such is Strype's translation of the words of the writ—*Universam apparatus Pontificium, quo uti solent Episcopi in hujusmodi magnificis Illustrissimorum Regum inaugurationibus.*

the robes, and the Queen was crowned amidst the loud shouts and rejoicings of all the expectant Ultra-Protestants of London.

The Parliament met on the 23rd of January, eight days after the coronation. According to the antient custom, the Convocation assembled at the same time. Elizabeth well knew that the members of this august assembly were opposed to her intention to resume the supreme ecclesiastical, as well as civil power, over the kingdom. She therefore sent down an order to the Convocation, to make no new Canons. The Parliament proceeded to repeal all the statutes of the late reign for the support of the Anti-Protestant system, and to re-establish, with some few alterations, the second Service-book of King Edward, for which so many Ultra-Protestants had died. It decreed that no doctrines, or opinions, or matter of religion which might be promulged by the Parliament, should be deemed to be heresy, but that only which was contrary to Scripture, or to the decisions of the four first Councils. Henry VIII. had declared those doctrines to be heresy which opposed his own decisions. The Bishop of Rome declared that to be heresy which opposed the Church of Rome. I must confess that I prefer that definition of heresy, which affirms it to be an offence against either Scripture, or the decisions of the earlier Councils. The ecclesiastical jurisdiction was declared to be vested in the Crown, and the Convocation was not permitted to interfere nor to express an opinion on the subject. All

future appeals to the Court of Rome were prohibited, though certain existing causes were permitted to be completed within a certain time.* The assertion of the Papal authority was prohibited by severe penalties, according to the repetitions of the offence, from fine to imprisonment, from imprisonment to death. An oath was to be required for declaring the Queen to be the supreme governor, in all ecclesiastical and spiritual, as well as in all temporal causes; and all foreign, ecclesiastical, or spiritual jurisdiction, or authority whatever, within the realm, was to be utterly renounced. All the burnings, in short, had been in vain. The severities of Mary recoiled upon the inflictors of the former punishments, though in a less terrible shape, than the death of the faggot and the stake: and Mary seemed to have lived in vain, or to have lived only to enable the Ultra-Protestants to adorn the tales of John Foxe, and to terrify the commonalty of England with the fears of Popery for ever. The State of England and the Church of England must be considered as one society, bound by the double laws, ecclesiastical and temporal. The ecclesiastical laws had hitherto been made by the spiritual senators; the temporal laws by the civil senators of the country. In this instance the ecclesiastical laws were enacted against the wish of the spiritual senators, whether the Convocation of the Clergy, or the Bishops in Synod. The Bishop of

* Statutes at large, vol. ii., p. 142, edit. 1735, folio.

London, Harpsfield, his Chaplain, and others, exerted themselves to the utmost against the change. The Convocation presented five articles to the Bishops, to be laid before the House of Lords, declaring their belief in the bodily presence—Transubstantiation—the Sacrifice of the Mass—the supremacy of the Pope—and a protestation, that to decide on doctrine, Sacraments, and discipline, belonged to no Parliament, nor to any lay assembly, nor to any lay authority, but to the Pastors of the Church, that is, to the Bishops and the Convocation. All was in vain. The opposition of the Clergy was neutralized by a Royal command, that five Bishops, and three Doctors, on the Anti-Protestant, and eight Divines on the Protestant or Ultra-Protestant side, should dispute publicly on the controverted points. The debates in Parliament were suspended that the members might hear the discussion. The Anti-Protestants, however, objected to the arrangement that they should begin the controversy and that their opponents should reply, and the conference was declared to be at an end, amidst the ridicule of the Protestants. The committal of the Bishops of Winchester and Lincoln to the Tower, and the binding over the other disputants on their own recognizances to make their appearance daily, till judgment was pronounced on them, silenced the opposition of the other Bishops, and the bill in favour of the re-establishing the Book of Common Prayer was finally, I grieve to say, read and carried by a majority of three. Bonner

attended in his place, in the House of Lords, and was out-voted with the rest of the minority. The bills passed into laws. The Parliament and the Convocation, after many adjournments, were dissolved about the middle of May, and no efforts on the part of the Bishops, the Convocation, nor the Clergy of England; and no efforts on the part of the Bishop of Rome, or of his adherents on the Continent, or in the empire, have hitherto been able to rescind the laws, nor to overthrow the establishment of religion, effected by Elizabeth. The Anti-Episcopalians, of the reign of Charles, overthrew it for a time; but from that blow we have recovered. Neither can we hope to destroy this Church, unless we adopt the "*poisoning or Froudian system*," commended by myself and my friends.

So ended, vainly and fruitlessly, the opposition of Bonner to the decisions of Elizabeth, and the votes of her first Parliament. He exerted himself throughout the whole Session to the utmost of his power against all the changes. He was constantly in his place in the House of Lords, and in the Convocation, and before the House of Commons. He was present at the former, on the 30th of January, to oppose the bill for the restitution of the first-fruits and tenths to the Crown. They had been restored by Mary to the Church; and even the Ultra-Protestants confess, that it would have been happy for the Church if her bounty had not been rescinded; and that Elizabeth had anticipated the bounty of Anne,

and remedied the poverty of the benefices occasioned by her imperious father. Bonner voted on the 8th of February in favor of the recognition of the Queen's title to the throne,* and for various subsequent measures which supported her authority. He opposed on the 27th of February, and on every day till the 22nd of March, when it passed into a law, the bill for restoring the supremacy over the Church from the Pope to the Crown. He objected† to the bill empowering the Queen, on the avoidance of an Archbishopric or Bishopric, to exchange the temporal possessions of the See with improprie parsonages—an unhappy law, to which much of the poverty of the Bishoprics was to be imputed, till it was rectified by the late changes, by which a definite sum is allowed to the more impoverished Sees by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners from the confiscated revenues of other appointments in the Church. He voted on the 26th of April against the restoration of the second Service-Book of King Edward. Several bills for enlarging the spiritual power of the Queen, such as, that the Queen by commission might restore deprived ecclesiastics upon appeal to the throne, and to annex the revenues of certain religious houses to the Crown, did not pass into laws; probably on account of the more successful opposition of Bonner and his brethren: though others, to which the most strenuous opposition might have been anticipated,

* See Strype's Summary of the acts of this Parliament.

† 4th April, 1559.

were passed without any recorded objections. The chief of these was, that none should be punished for exercising the religious services appointed in the reign of King Edward—a law which had the effect of pardoning those who remained in prison on that account. Bonner appears to have attended regularly in his place till the dissolution of Parliament.*

I have already said that the Convocation was forbidden to pass any canons. Bonner, however, exerted himself to the utmost, and with great success, to induce the Convocation to oppose the measures affecting religion. He commanded his Chaplain Harpsfield to draw up the five articles, which the lower House of Convocation desired the Bishops to present to the Lords. They were presented, by Bonner, to the Chancellor, but they were never made the matter of discussion by the House. I am unable to state the reasons for which Bonner did not make them the subject of a distinct motion.

In the present day the House of Commons would fiercely resent any interference of a member of the House of Lords with their debates, as a gross breach of privilege. In the reign of Elizabeth this interference seems to have excited no surprize. On the 11th of March a Bill was brought into the House of Commons to confirm Bishop Ridley's leases. The Bill passed the House—but Bishop Bonner, with the boldness and decision which characterized all his proceedings, came down in person to the House,

* 8th May, 1559.

demanded a copy of the Bill, and stigmatized Ridley as an usurper of the Bishopric. The House granted his request, and appointed Wednesday the 15th to consider his objections. Bonner appeared at their bar at the time assigned him, and argued that he had been deprived unjustly of his See, in the reign of Edward, and that Ridley was, therefore, an intruder, whose leases were consequently void. His plea was not admitted, and the law passed—but Bonner was neither injured nor insulted. His firmness and decision seem to have overawed the very Ultra-Protestants, who most hated both his person and opinions.

So ended the Parliament which re-established the present frame-work of the Church of England. The Prayer-book of Ridley, Cranmer, Latimer, and their Ultra-Protestant King, was ordered to be again brought into use on St. John Baptist's day.* The Latin Mass-book, which had been permitted to be used from the days of the Queen's accession till this time, was removed; and never has been since regarded with favour, till I and my brethren have again begun to eulogize it. The Prayer-book was joyfully received by the Ultra-Protestants and by the people generally, with the exception of the Anti-Episcopal party, who were returning from Geneva and their other places of exile on the Continent. As Mary had changed religion without the consent of the Clergy, but imprisoned an Arch-

* June 24th.

bishop and Bishop, and at length burnt them; so Elizabeth changed the religion of the country without the consent of the Archbishop and Bishops—whom though she did not burn, she deprived of their preferments. The nation was divided. The Parliaments were easily packed by Sheriffs who obeyed the mandates of the Court. The violence of Mary, I must confess, to have been greater than that of Elizabeth. The changes, under Edward, received the sanction of all the legal powers of the realm. Those of Mary were begun by the authority of the Court alone, without the sanction of the Parliament. Those of Elizabeth were all begun and completed by the Parliament; and they confirmed only the establishment of Edward, which had forcibly and illegally been removed by Mary.

We are now, then, once more to consider Bonner in adversity. The Parliament was dissolved on the 8th of May. On the 30th of that month Bonner was summoned before the Council, and the oath of supremacy, disowning the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Rome, was formally tendered to him. He refused to take it, and was informed that his bishopric was again forfeited. His last act of authority as a Bishop, the collation to a benefice, had been performed on the 6th of May. On the 30th he was deprived.* Sen-

* Anthony Wood was in possession of Bonner's Eusebius. Bonner had written in it *Litera Dominicali A. An. Dom. MDLIX, die Maii xxx, vocatus ad concilium recusavi præstare juramentum et omnino deprivatus.**

* Strype, (Elizabeth) chap. ii.

tence of deprivation was not actually pronounced on him till the following month. Much reluctance seems to have been felt by the Queen before she resolved on taking this very decided step. All the fourteen Marian Bishops had been called before her, with the other Clergy of the Convocation, eight days after the Parliament was dissolved. Bonner was with them. The Queen addressed them: she reminded them that she had only restored the antient rights of the Crown, by bringing back the supremacy; and begged them to take into their serious consideration the affairs of the Church, and to banish from it, all schism and the superstitious worship of Rome. The Bishops (Bonner never seems to have excelled in the art of public speaking, which indeed is no certain criterion of great talent,) answered the Queen by Heth, the Archbishop of York. They begged her to recollect and to imitate the zeal of Mary for the See of Rome, and the reconciliation which in her reign had been made between England and Rome: and they loyally and candidly assured her that if Elizabeth imitated the example of Mary, that then the Bishop of Rome would once more restore the island to his favour.* The Queen listened in silence. When Heth had done speaking, she made this most Ultra-Protestant answer, “as Joshua declared, I and
 “my house will serve the Lord; so I and my realm
 “are resolved to serve Him. As he assembled the
 “Elders of Judea to make a covenant with God, I

* Strype, (Elizabeth) chap. ii.

“have assembled the Parliament and Clergy of my
 “nation to make a covenant, not with the Bishop
 “of Rome, but with God. My sister could not
 “bind the kingdom to an usurped authority. I ab-
 “solutely renounce all foreign jurisdiction. I will
 “be no way subject to any power, but to Christ
 “the King of Kings. I esteem all my subjects,
 “whether ecclesiastical or civil, to be enemies to
 “God, to me, and to my successors, who shall hence-
 “forth own his usurped or any foreign power what-
 “ever.”* This speech might have been spoken by
 George the Third. The Ultra-Protestants still quote
 Scripture in the same manner against the Bishop of
 Rome. They still talk of religion as being the cove-
 nant between God and their souls. After such a
 speech there was no remedy. The oath of supre-
 macy was tendered to the Bishops and the whole
 Clergy of the realm. Their number was calculated
 at 9400 ecclesiastical persons. Of all these, I blush
 to say, one hundred and seventy-seven only vacated
 their preferments, rather than renounce Rome and
 accept the Prayer-book of Edward.† Bonner was
 one of the number. He was finally deprived, accord-
 ing to the forms required by law, by the Commis-
 sioners, on the 29th of June, 1559. Where he re-

* Strype, *ut supra*.

† Strype, (Elizabeth) chap. ii. There were, however, ac-
 cording to Camden, 14 Bishops, 13 Deans, 14 Archdeacons, 15
 Heads of Colleges, 50 Prebendaries, 80 Rectors, Abbots, &c. 6,
 or 192.

sided after his sentence, or with what friends he associated, we know not. He was, however, permitted to retain his liberty for nine months. In April, 1560, he was committed to the Marshalsea, to his former prison. Strype assures us that this was done to secure his safety; because he was so hated by the people, that it would not "have been safe to have walked abroad in public, lest he should have been insulted or maltreated by the friends and acquaintance of those whom he had so barbarously beaten or butchered."* But if this was the cause of his detention, we may be justly surprised that he was not committed to the Marshalsea at the time when he refused to take the oath of supremacy. It is difficult to perceive why he should be more liable to insult in April, 1560, than in June, 1559. The cause of his arrest, therefore, must remain in obscurity. He was imprisoned in April. He was soon after excommunicated, and his sentence was denounced against him at St. Paul's Cross by the preacher,† while he still remained a prisoner in the Marshalsea. Strype, however, assures us that he was always at liberty, but would not venture to leave his prison.

Two circumstances only remain to be mentioned of the venerable Bonner, to prove his consistency to the last. The Bishops who had refused to comply with the establishment under Elizabeth, had been zealous for the Apostolical Succession, and the Episcopacy of

* Strype, chap. ii. Elizabeth.

† July 28, 1560.

England, in conjunction with the Church of Rome. They did not imagine that the succession could be secured and continued without their assistance. When, however, they were all deprived, the Queen took into consideration the propriety and necessity of filling up the Bishoprics. As a lover and admirer of antiquity, desirous to observe the laws and the Catholic canons of the antient Church, she sedulously endeavoured to obtain consecration for her intended ecclesiastical rulers of the Church, in the antient canonical forms and modes ; as well as according to the laws and statutes of the Kingdom. It is certain, however, that she would have allowed no impediment to have prevented her settling the affairs of the Church in the best manner she could. If she could not have established the Royal Supremacy, the Prayer-book of Edward, and the faith of the Reforming Bishops, with the Apostolical Succession, she would have appointed Superintendants, or Moderators, or Ruling Presbyters, or Ecclesiastical Magistrates, to govern the Dioceses under some other old, or new name. If her people could not have worshipped God and Christ with the Apostolical Succession, she would have taken care they should have some form of worship, though without it. But I am compelled to say that Elizabeth was most anxious to avoid this alternative. She well knew that no Church had been governed but by Bishops, from the very commencement of Christianity : and she believed, also, that these Bishops were independent of the au-

thority of their brother and co-equal Bishop, him of Rome. Elizabeth, therefore, issued a commission to Tunstal, Bourne, Pool, Kitchin, Barlow, and Scory, the two last of whom had been deprived under Mary, to consecrate Parker to the See of Canterbury; to which he had been chosen, in compliance with the Queen's *cong   d'elire* of July 18th, 1559, by the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury. The Bishops, to whom the oath of Supremacy had not been yet tendered, refused to obey. The consecration was postponed; but the Queen was not a person to be baffled. Three months elapsed. A mandate was then directed to Kitchin, of Llandaff, the only Marian Bishop who had conformed, to Barlow, Scory, Coverdale, who had also been deprived by Mary, to the Suffragan of Bedford and of Thetford, commanding them to consecrate Parker. A clause, however, was added,* which declared that if there was any deficiency in their power, either by the statutes of the realm, or by the laws of the Church, either in their acts, or in the person, state, or faculty of either of them; her own authority, as Queen of England, hereby supplies such deficiency. "That is,"—said the Queen, (in effect, though not in words)—"if you, my friends, the deprived or undeprived Bishops, refuse to assist me in providing for the due administration of the ecclesiastical affairs of my realm, I, as Queen of England, responsible to God, the only Ruler of Princes, for the upholding of the Christian

* See Rymer.

“religion among my people ; I will make Matthew
 “Parker the Head of the Church ; and he shall ap-
 “point others, by the same regal authority by which
 “I appoint him. I am in this realm, the supreme
 “Christian Magistrate. The Pope shall not rule me.
 “The Bishops shall not rule me. I will give the best
 “form of Christianity I can to the people ; and it
 “shall be the union, if possible, of the old Catholic
 “faith and the old Episcopal discipline : but if you,
 “the Bishops, will not act with me, I will act without
 “you, and God alone shall judge me. If I cannot
 “establish the Christian religion with Bishops, I will
 “establish it without them.” Such decided conduct
 ended all question about the Apostolical succession.
 The Queen’s command was obeyed. Barlow, and
 Hodgkins, the Suffragan of Bedford, who had been
 made Bishops according to the Romish Pontifical ;
 and Scory and Coverdale, who had been consecrated
 according to the Ordinal of Edward, confirmed and
 consecrated Parker, on the 17th of December, and
 the Apostolical succession was secured to the Church
 of England.*

Bonner and his brethren, perceiving the firmness
 of the Queen, made one more effort to induce her to
 pause. They sent a message to the Queen in Coun-

* I might discuss here, whether the Bishops could conse-
 crate by virtue of their appointment to the Episcopate, as they
 had no jurisdiction—but I leave the controversy in the hands
 of Mr. Palmer, Dr. Wiseman, and Dr. Lingard.—See the Dub-
 lin Review, and Mr. Palmer’s books,—“Sub judice Lis.”

cil, at the beginning of December, before Parker was consecrated—"We entreat your Majesty," they said, "to listen to us the Catholic Clergy, within your realm, not to be misled by those who would persuade you to embrace schisms and heresies, in lieu of the antient Catholic faith, long since planted here by the motherly care of the Church of Rome," (those of us Tractarians, who talk of Rome as our mother, could have adopted no better language than this of Bonner) "which your ancestors revered, until your father and brother were misled by schismatical advisers." They then eulogized Mary, and intreated the Queen to consider the supremacy of Rome; and hoped that God would turn her heart, and make her evil advisers repent of their heresies. The paper was signed by five Bishops—Edmund Bonner being the second.

The Queen answered in the Ultra-Protestant spirit which I have represented to be characteristic of her mind and temper. "As to your entreaty to listen to you," she said, "this is my answer: our realm and subjects, were stray wanderers while they were under the tuition of the Romish Pastors. They were advised to own a wolf for their head, in lieu of a shepherd. Heresies and schisms were then so numerous, that the flock of Christ fed on poisonous shrubs, not on wholesome pastures." She then proceeds to affirm, that Rome did not first plant the Catholic faith in this kingdom; but that their Romish idolatry made them liars. She refers

to the proofs upon which this Ultra-Protestant assertion rests, and declares that Augustine procured the murder of many Priests in England, who were Martyrs for Christ, because they denied the usurped authority of Rome. "And, whereas," she added, "our father was withdrawn from the supremacy of Rome by schismatical and heretical advisers—who, we pray you, flattered him and encouraged him in this conduct more than you, Heth, when you were Bishop of Rochester; or than you, Bonner, when you were Archdeacon? Are not you, then, schismatics and heretics? Suspend, then, your censures. Was it our sister's conscience, or your advice, which made her so averse to our father's and brother's actions?" She then briefly replied to the arguments in favor of the Papal supremacy, and concluded, by saying—"that if Athanasius withstood Rome under Liberius, when he became an Arian, without being guilty of heresy, she also might separate from Rome, without heresy or schism." The last sentence warned them not to provoke her to enforce the penalties enacted for the opponents of her government; and with this she concluded her reply. Many of the Council entreated her to punish Bonner for his insolence, as he had been so zealous, or, as Strype says, so inveterate against the Protestants and Ultra-Protestants in the reign of Mary. She refused to do so—"Let us not follow," she said, "the example of Mary. Let us rather shew that our reformation tendeth to peace, and not to cruelty;" and Bonner remained unmolested.

The Convocation of 1562 gave the sanction of the Bishops and Clergy to the faith, discipline, and general government of the Church.

The last circumstance of any interest, related of Bonner, remains to be mentioned, and this imperfect narrative is finished. It is the last proof of his firmness and consistency, and his almost sublime Anti-Protestant contempt for the Protestant, Ultra-Protestant, schismatical, and heretical rulers of the Church, who had succeeded to himself and Gardiner.

Power had been given to the newly-consecrated Bishops, by a clause in the act of supremacy, to tender the oath of submission to that supremacy, to the Ecclesiastics under their jurisdiction. Bonner was now in the Marshalsea. That prison was in the Diocese of the Bishop of Winchester. White, the former Bishop, under Mary, had been deprived by Elizabeth. Horne had been consecrated to the Bishopric by Parker, according to the form prescribed by the Ordination-Service, in the second book of Edward the Sixth. Horne needlessly and therefore uselessly, for Bonner was safe in prison, resolved to tender to Bonner the oath of supremacy. Bonner was, accordingly, summoned before the Bishop, or his ecclesiastical officers.* Bonner, as I have already shewn, was well versed in the Canon law. He was neither a preacher nor a theologian, and did not profess to be either. When he appeared before the representatives of the Bishop, he urged many reasons for refusing to take the oath. The chief and the only one

* Strype, Annals, (Elizabeth) chap. 34.

indeed which we may deem it necessary to consider, being this—that Horne was not really and truly the Bishop of Winchester—that the Act of Parliament required that the oath should be tendered by the Diocesan, to those who resided in their Dioceses—that Horne was not his Diocesan, nor any Diocesan—that he was not a Bishop at all, and, therefore, that he had no power and no authority to administer the oath. This objection of Bonner, to the Episcopal jurisdiction of Horne, was at once perceived to be a question of the most vital importance. If the apostolical succession was not continued among us by the consecration of Parker, and the Bishops whom Parker consecrated, then it was, as our brethren of the Church of Rome still assert, and as the Dublin Review has lately asserted*—that the orders of the Church of England are not valid. If the orders of the Church of England are not valid, then it follows that our Bishops have no authority, our Clergy no mission, our commemorations of Christ's death are not sacraments, our sprinkling of water, or our dipping of children at their supposed admission into the Universal Church, are not baptism. Then also it follows that our people are out of the Covenant, their

* See the article in the Dublin Review, on the Apostolical succession in the Church of England, the reply by Palmer, and the rejoinder. These articles are attributed to Bishop Wiseman and Dr. Lingard. The argument of our Romanist brethren is, that those who consecrated Parker had no jurisdiction, and could not, therefore, continue the succession. This seems to have been Bonner's objection.

Pastors are out of the Church, the English nation is left to the uncovenanted mercies of God, we are worse than the Pagans, we are not Christians, so much as the French, the Italians, the Portuguese, or the Spaniards. All of these are Christians. The English people have made one great mistake, and God's mercy does not rest upon them, Christ has not died for them, the Bible is useless to them, the means of grace are a mockery. This, all this, and more than this was, and is, implied in the denial of the validity of the orders of the Church of England ; for those who are not in the Covenant with God on earth, cannot be included in the Covenant with God hereafter. Those who are not in the Church militant, cannot belong to the Church triumphant. To use the language of the holy Cyprian ;* he cannot have God for his Father, who has not the Church for his Mother. All this was implied in Bonner's objection to the validity of the consecration of the Bishop of Winchester. Upon Bonner's refusal, therefore, to acknowledge Horne to be a Bishop of the Catholic Church, though he had been consecrated by Parker in the form appointed by the Service-book of King Edward ; an indictment was laid against him in the Court of Queen's Bench, and Bonner attended with two of the most eminent council of the day, the learned Plowden and Wray, afterwards Chief Justice, to plead to that indictment.

* De Unitate.

I pass by the pleas which were over-ruled by the Judges—that he was indicted as Doctor of Laws, and not as Bishop—that he was accused by the Chancellor, and not by the Bishop—that he was not required to take the oath of supremacy in a public place. The objection to Horne was, that Horne was not a Bishop, for two reasons ; first—he was not elected and consecrated according to the laws of the Catholic Church ; and, secondly—he was not consecrated according to the statutes and ordinances of the realm.

It is much to be regretted, that none of the authors, who have related this charge of Bonner against Horne, have given us the Bishop's arguments at any length.* I can, therefore, but briefly mention Bonner's objections, and the reply to them.

Horne was not a Bishop according to the canons of the Catholic Church.

The answer is, that he was consecrated by Parker and his episcopal coadjutors, according to the first of the Apostolical Canons, the fourth Nicene Canon, and the Canons of Africa and Antioch, as they are given in the antient codes. The objection of Bonner, therefore, must have referred to the validity of the consecration of Parker, who consecrated Horne.

* See Strype's Annals, (Elizabeth) chap. 34.—Dodd's Church History.

Collier, vol. ii., folio edition.

Dyer's Reports, p. 234. Edit. 1672. Folio.

Strype's Parker, book ii., chap. 1., who refers to a MS. in the Cotton Library.—Cleopatra, sec. 4.

Parker was consecrated by four persons, who had been duly and canonically appointed to the episcopal office. Queen Elizabeth had issued a mandate to these four persons, Barlow, Scory, Coverdale, and Hodgskins, to lay their hands on Parker. They did so. If they were Bishops, therefore, Parker was rightly and duly made by them the continuator of the apostolical succession. Bonner, therefore, must have intended to insinuate or affirm, that they were not Bishops—that is, that they were deprived in the reign of Mary, and had not been restored again to their Sees. They, consequently, possessed no jurisdiction, and, therefore, no authority. I shall only observe, in reply, that the four Bishops were restored, if they, indeed, had ever lost it, to their power to consecrate; by the same authority, which had dispossessed and deprived them. If Mary had power to depose them from all or from any part of their office, Elizabeth had power to restore them; and Barlow, Scory, Coverdale, and Hodgskins, were more certainly justified in continuing the Apostolical Succession, when they were commanded by the authority of their Prince to do so, after their unjust deposition from episcopal jurisdiction; than either the non-juring Bishops who continued the succession for nearly a century after their deprivation; or than the Bishops of the Church of Rome,—Baines, Wiseman, and others—to exercise episcopal jurisdiction in the Dioceses where our own Bishops are appointed, both by the Canons of the Catholic Church,

and by the laws of the realm. I am sorry to find, that Bonner objected, on this ground, to the validity of Horne's consecration. His silence, however, on the story of the Nag's Head consecration, which he is said to have originated, proves to us that this fable had not at this time been invented.

Bonner's second objection to the validity of Horne's consecration was taken from the laws and statutes of the realm.

This objection seems to have given much trouble to the Judges, who met and deliberated in the chamber of Chief Justice Catiline. It was, that Horne had been consecrated according to the form of ordination in the second Service-book of King Edward, which had been repealed by Mary; but which had not been restored, with the rest of the book, by the act of Elizabeth. That act spoke in general terms of the Prayer-book of Edward; but did not mention the order of consecrating Bishops, which was a separate Service-book. The question, therefore, was, whether the form of consecrating Bishops was, or was not, part and parcel of the Prayer-book, or a distinct and separate service; and whether, therefore, Horne ought not to have been consecrated according to the 25th of Henry VIII., c. 20, and not according to the consecration Service-book of Edward. The Queen's mandate for the consecration of Parker, had commanded that he be consecrated according to the form of the

statutes in that case made and provided ; but if there should, by chance, be any deficiency in the form or mode of his appointment, it was to be considered as done away by the royal mandate, which ordered his consecration.* The same authority might be considered as extending to any informality in the consecration of Horne, provided that the laws of the Church (Catholic) were observed. This, however, was not pleaded ; neither was it insisted upon, that the ordination services formed a part of the Book of Prayer. The indictment, therefore, was kept open till an Act of Parliament† was passed, to “take away all questions and ambiguities that might be objected to the “lawful confirmations, investing, and consecrations “of Bishops.” In this act it was asserted that in all the consecrations, those words only had been used, which had been accustomed to be used, by Henry the Eighth and Edward the Sixth ; and also, that other general words and sentences had been inserted in her letters patent, to dispense with all the doubts and cases that could in anywise be objected against the same. The discussion was thus terminated by the

* *Supplentes nihilominus, supremâ auctoritate nostrâ Regiâ —si quid, aut in quæ juxta Mandatum nostrum predictum, per vos fient aut in vobis, aut vestrum aliquo Conditione, statu, facultate vestris ad Præmissa perficienda, desit, aut deerit eorum, quæ per statuta hujus regni, aut per leges ecclesiasticas in hac parte, requiruntur, aut necessaria sunt, Temporis ratione et rerum necessitate id postulante.*—*Rymer, Fœd. T. xv., p. 550 ; edit. 1713.*

† The 8th of Elizabeth.

law. The language of the statute left the question undecided, and professed only to solve a doubt. The indictment against Bonner fell to the ground: but the oath of supremacy was not again tendered to him, either by his Diocesan, or by any other Magistrate.

This act passed in the year 1565. Nothing more is recorded of Bonner from this time. He continued to be a prisoner in the Marshalsea; retaining the same cheerfulness which had characterized him both in his pious zeal when he burnt the heretical Ultra-Protestants, or when he was insulted and threatened by their surviving friends and kindred. Very singular are the anecdotes which illustrate his self-possession, when he was taken from the Marshalsea to the tribunal of the Bishop of Winchester. "The Lord confound thee, or turn thy heart," said one. "The Lord," he answered, "send thee to keep thy breath to cool thy porridge": an expression not perfectly episcopal. The divisions among the people, however, were displayed at the very time when some were most severe in their expressions of indignation. A woman came and knelt before him—"The Lord save thy life, Bishop!" she said, "I trust to see thee Bishop of London again." "God a mercy, good wife," was Bonner's answer. Another met him, an Ultra-Protestant, who urged upon him the duty of submitting to the regal supremacy. "By God, you are well learned," said the Bishop. "Where learned you to swear, Master Bonner?" was the answer. I am, I must say, grieved to add, that Bonner's re-

ply was such as the best friends of Bishops must condemn. "Did not Christ swear," he replied. "Verily, verily, I say unto you": and the answer of the Ultra-Protestant to the Anti-Protestant was no less indecorous—"It is well," said he, "that thou hast some Scripture for blasphemy, for thou hast none for Popery."* How miserable, how sad, are the results of the controversies among Christians. When shall authority and liberty be so united with peace and truth, that these detestable hatreds shall be ended; and the words Heretic and Papist, as the laws and proclamations of Henry, Edward, Mary, and Elizabeth were in vain issued to decree, be no more used to exasperate and divide us. Oh! that the Providence of God would grant some uniter of hearts and reconciler of truths, to the universal Church; that love may succeed to hatred, and the admiration of the Infidel, instead of his contempt and scorn of Christians, be once more excited, as in the earlier days of the Church. Then the Heathen looked upon the believers in Christianity, and said, not—"see how these Christians hate"—but "see how these Christians love one another."

And now the time arrived which must come to all, when his body was to be given to the earth, and his spirit must return to the God who gave it. What shall the moment be, when the consciousness of existence on earth shall cease, and the consciousness of

* See these conversations in Strype, *Annals*, (Elizabeth) chap. 34.

existence in another state begin ? I dare not speculate on the condition of any one of my fellows. Yet we read of no expressions of devotion, no sorrow for the possibility of error, no repentance for the burnings and the whippings, the blows and the beatings, with which he had visited the Ultra-Protestants ; with a severity required or unrequired by the fierce and unrelenting law. Bonner was more than seventy years of age, when the Providence of God summoned him to his great account. He died a prisoner, but under an easy restraint in the Marshalsea, on the 5th of September, 1569. So great was his unpopularity among the citizens of London, who would not consider him as the mere executor of the Anti-Protestant law, but who hated him as the cause of the death of so many of their ministers, friends, and kindred ; that public disturbances were apprehended, if his friends and relations had buried him with the usual pomp and splendour, with which some of his acquaintance desired to commit him to the grave. His body was conveyed from the prison in which he died, to St. George's Church-yard, in Southwark, at midnight. He sleeps in a dishonoured grave. Not only is his name hateful to posterity for his alleged cruelty to sufferers who were already weighed down by the agonizing anticipations of that most terrible of all terrible deaths—the burning at the stake ; but he was commonly reported to be an Atheist,* whose

* Strype, (Elizabeth) chap. 53.

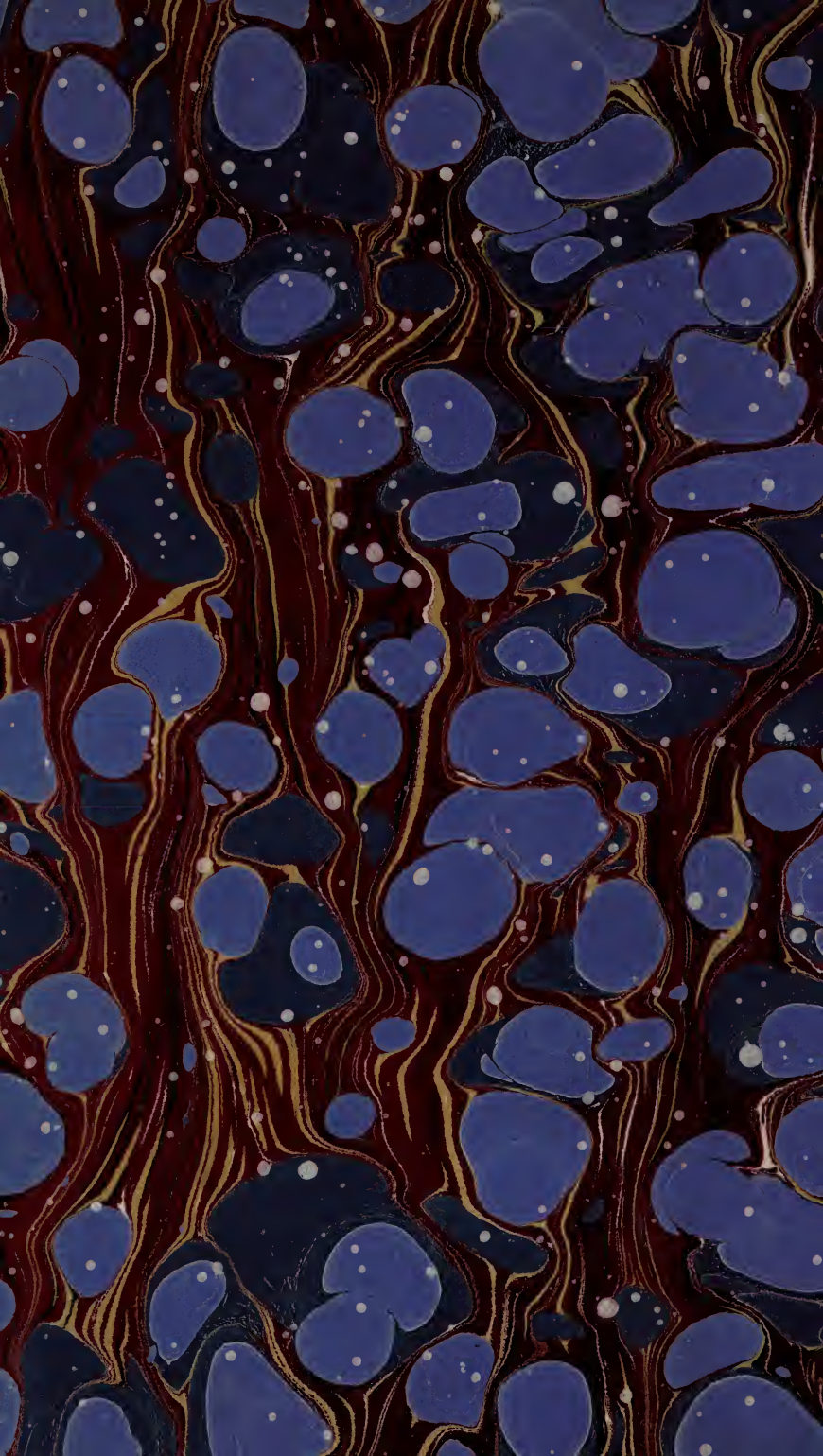
private declarations were, that there was no immortality hereafter, either of joy or sorrow ; no truth in the Scriptures, no accountableness to God. I cannot say how the truth may be, with respect to this accusation. I only know that much faith is required to believe that he was, what I and my brother "Tractarian British Critics" declare all Bishops to be, "*the representatives of Christ, and as worthy of our homage, as the Apostles and the successors of the Apostles.*" The contemptible Ultra-Protestants, whom my soul abhors more than any of the brethren of Bonner, or than Bonner himself, whatever be the accusations against him, will, I still fear, remain unconvinced, by my pages, of their bounden duty to submit their private judgment and self-formed opinions to this decision of the Catholic Church. I, however, and my brethren, my own dear friends, who desire to "UNPROTESTANTIZE" this Protestant nation, shall never hesitate, with our beloved Froude, to approve both of Gardiner and Bonner, and to commend their opinions to the approbation and the love of the Church. Great indeed will be the change we shall effect, if we can accomplish this object. Our Ultra-Protestant friends at Oxford have lately erected a monument to Ridley, Cranmer, and Latimer, who were burnt. We hope so to unprotestantize, or to Romanize the nation, that we shall raise a monument to Mary, Gardiner, and to Bonner, who burnt them. They prefer the criminals, we the judges. They think of the suffering, we of the guilt ;

they of the Ultra-Protestant professions, we of the Anti-Protestant actions. They are against Rome, we are with Rome. They, like the Pseudo-Martyrs, whom they eulogize, talk more of the Bible than of the Church; we talk more of the Church than of the Bible. They love the Prayer-book; we love the Catholic Ritual, the Canon of the Mass, and the beauties of the Breviary. They go to the fountain; we trace the stream. They love the Government which gives the sceptre over the visible Church to all the successors of the Apostles; we prefer the Unity at which our dear fathers in the reign of Mary aspired, the government of the Church by the successor of St. Peter alone. They love the German reformers Bucer, Martyr, Phagius, and their set; we prefer the Italian reformers, Priuli, Ormaneto, and Castro, who assisted Pole to secure Aristotle to Oxford. Lives of Cranmer, and Jewell, and Wycliffe, without number, have crowded the shelves of our libraries, and gradually descended to our book stalls; and the time, it seemed to me, had come, when the principles of my friend Froude might be more extensively acted upon, and a life of Bonner be added to the list, that the antidote might attend the poison. Go, then, my book, go forth to the astonished world! Go! and tell the British public! Go tell the Anglican Church! that three centuries after Henry had placed the Bible in the Churches of England, and taken down the Papal tiara which overshadowed the royal diadem of the Kings of England—go! tell the British people, that

there were found, at Oxford, in the year 1841, Englishmen, Clergymen, Gentlemen, and Scholars, who loved the memory, advocated the motives, admired the conduct, and desired to restore, in England, the faith, the creed, and the principles of Edmund Bonner!!!

THE END.

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